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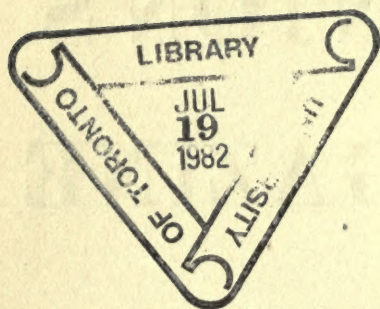
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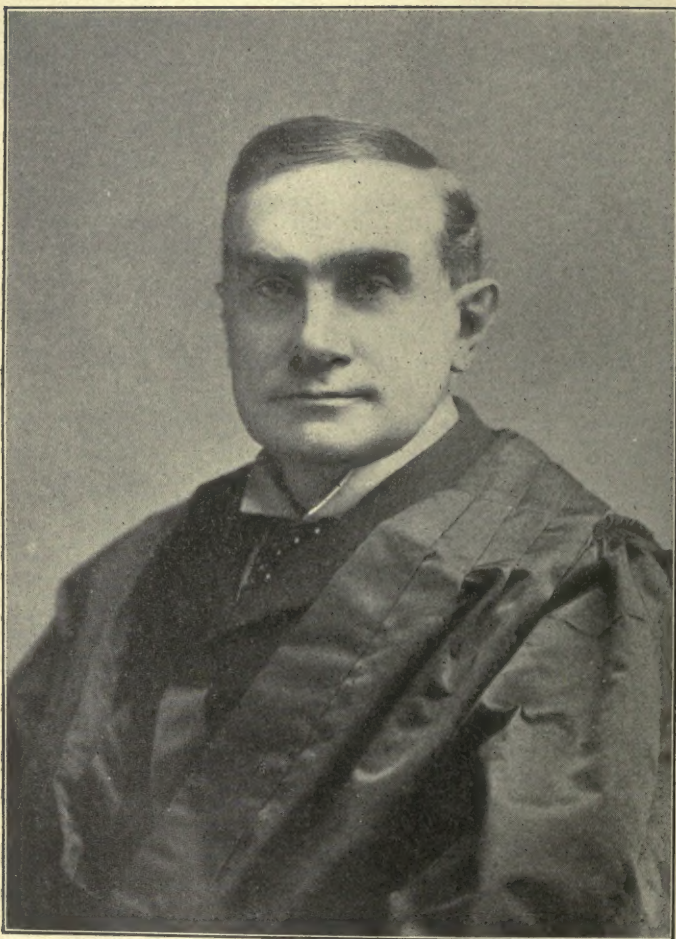
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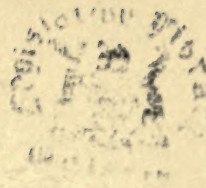
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HENRY B. BROWN

Associate Justice of the United States Supreme Court

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Puerto Rico

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Supreme Court and "Expansion"

After long months of uncertainty, the supreme court of the United States has given the first of its decisions on the constitutional relations of the national government to our new island possessions. These decisions not only affect the status of Porto Rico but they point the way, by implication at least, to what will be decided in respect to our powers in the Philippines as well.

The so-called "De Lima" and "Downes" cases, relatively unimportant in themselves, together with others of similar character but less consequence, were the immediate occasion of these momentous decisions. They were simply claims for the refund of duties paid on certain imports from Porto Rico to the United States. In the De Lima case, the duty was paid after the treaty of peace by which Porto Rico was ceded to the United States (in February, 1899), but before the passage of the Foraker act imposing the 15 per cent. duty on imports from that island. In the Downes case the duty was paid after the passage of the Foraker act. Of course, these claims involved the question of whether Porto Rico at either of these periods was a part of the United States and included within the provision of the constitution which requires that "all duties, imposts and excises shall be uniform throughout the United States."

In both cases the court was almost equally divided.

Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham held that by the treaty of peace Porto Rico had become a part of the United States in the fullest sense, entitled to the full operation of the constitution, and that congress had no right to place a tariff duty on products brought from the island to this country. Four others, Justices Gray, Shiras, White and McKenna, held that Porto Rico could only become a part of the United States by act of congress, and that even the treaty of Paris did no more than make the island an external possession, leaving it technically a foreign country so far as customs revenues are concerned. The first group of justices, therefore, held that in both cases the duties were unlawfully collected and must be refunded. The second group held exactly the reverse; that in both cases the duties were constitutional and should not be refunded. The deciding vote was given by Justice Brown, and through him the determining opinion of the court was expressed.

Justice Brown made an important distinction between the two cases and pursued an entirely independent line of reasoning. This, stated at length as the opinion of the court, led up to the conclusion that by the treaty of Paris Porto Rico had become "domestic territory;" and that while congress had the power to determine to what extent the constitution should be extended to such territory it had not done so up to the time of the Foraker act, and therefore that the duties collected in the De Lima case were unauthorized and must be refunded. This conclusion, it will be seen, although based on different reasoning, was in accordance with that of Chief Justice Fuller and Justices Harlan, Brewer and Peckham, and therefore became the majority opinion of the court.

In the Downes case, Justice Brown held that the duties complained of had been legally collected because

congress by the Foraker act had formally exercised, in part at least, its right of determining to what extent the constitution should apply to the territory of Porto Rico. This was in accordance with the conclusion of Justices Gray, White, Shiras and McKenna, although for quite different reasons; the latter four justices holding that the duties were legal because Porto Rico was still technically a "foreign" country, and Justice Brown holding that it was not foreign but domestic territory, but that congress possessed the right and had exercised it of prescribing what tariff regulations should apply to such territory.

Inasmuch as four justices agreed that
Justice Brown's Porto Rico was still "foreign," Justice
Reasonable Position Brown's opinion to the contrary was particularly unwelcome to those who favor giving the president practically unrestricted power to govern the Philippines without the constitution. Perhaps it is unfortunate that one clear, positive and more nearly unanimous decision could not have been had on an issue of such great importance to the future of the republic; but, now that the doctrine of the superior right of congress in respect to territories has been confirmed by the court, it seems to us that Justice Brown's interpretation of this right is more reasonable, consistent and safe than that of his four colleagues who leaned to the same general view but upon a quite different and more radical theory. If Porto Rico was not domestic territory of the United States after the treaty of Paris, which ceded the island to this country, then it had no legal existence whatever. Certainly it was no longer a Spanish possession, nor had it any independent government. If it could not become domestic territory until congress specifically annexed it to the United States, then congress by refusing to do this

could keep the island indefinitely in what Chief Justice Fuller called the status of a "disembodied shade," under no recognized law but subject only to the personal government of the president of the United States. But of course the constitution gives the president no power to govern a "foreign" country. This whole theory leads to chaos and is utterly repugnant to the democratic basis of our institutions and public policy. Justice Brown quoted Chief Justice Marshall's definition of a "foreign country," and discussed the point, in part, as follows:

"A foreign country was defined by Chief Justice Marshall and Justice Story to be one exclusively within the sovereignty of a foreign nation and without the sovereignty of the United States.

"The status of Porto Rico was this: The island had been for some months under military occupation by the United States as a conquered country, when by the second article of the treaty of peace between the United States and Spain, signed Dec. 10, 1898, and ratified April 11, 1899, Spain ceded to the United States the island of Porto Rico, which has ever since remained in our possession and has been governed and administered by us. If the case depended solely upon these facts and the question were broadly presented whether a country which had been ceded to us, the cession accepted, possession delivered and the island occupied and administered without interference by Spain or any other power, was a foreign country or domestic territory it would seem that there could be as little hesitation in answering this question as there would be in determining the ownership of a house deeded in fee simple to a purchaser who had accepted the deed, gone into possession, paid taxes and made improvements without let or hindrance from his vendor. . . .

"If an act of congress be necessary to convert a foreign country into domestic territory, the question at once suggests itself, What is the character of the legislation demanded for this purpose? Will an act appropriating money for its purchase be sufficient? Apparently not. Will an act appropriating the duties collected on imports to and from such country for the benefit of its government be sufficient? Apparently not. Will acts making appropriations for its postal service, for the establishment of light houses, for the maintenance of quarantine stations, for erecting public buildings, have that effect? Will an act establishing a complete local government, but with the reservation of a right to collect duties upon commerce, be adequate for that purpose? None of these, nor all together, will be sufficient if the contention of the government be sound, since acts embracing all these provisions have been passed in

connection with Porto Rico, and it is insisted that it is still a foreign country within the meaning of the tariff laws. We are unable to acquiesce in this assumption that a territory may be at the same time both foreign and domestic."

As to the power of congress to govern territories of the United States, Justice Brown said:

"The practical impersonation put by congress upon the constitution has been long continued and uniform to the effect that the constitution is applicable to territories acquired by purchase or conquest only when and so far as congress shall so direct. Notwithstanding its duty 'to guarantee every state in the union a republican form of government,' congress did not hesitate in the original organization of the territories of Louisiana, Florida, the Northwest Territory and its sub-divisions of Ohio, Indiana, Michigan, Illinois and Wisconsin, and still more recently in the case of Alaska, to establish a form of government bearing a much greater analogy to a British crown colony than a republican state of America, and to vest the legislative power either in a governor and council, or a governor and judges, to be appointed by the president.

"We are also of opinion that power to acquire territory by treaty implies not only the power to govern such territory, but to prescribe upon what terms the United States will receive its inhabitants and what their status shall be in what Chief Justice Marshall termed the 'American Empire.'"

So far as precedent is concerned, the weight of evidence and argument is on the side of the minority opinion prepared by Chief Justice Fuller. With great force he quoted Justice Marshall's famous declaration:

Elastic Interpretation Justifiable

"Does this term (the United States) designate the whole or any portion of the American empire? . . . It is the name given to our great republic, which is composed of states and territories. The district of Columbia, or the territory west of the Missouri, is not less within the United States than Maryland or Pennsylvania, and it is not less necessary, on the principles of our constitution, that uniformity in the imposition of imposts, duties and excises should be observed in the one than in the other."

Of course, following this opinion, Porto Rico would be as truly a part of the United States as New York or Massachusetts; its people would be citizens of the United States, and tariff duties on imports from the

island would be as illegal as if levied on interstate commerce.

But, in the present case, the court has really followed another and quite as powerful precedent; that of taking into consideration the changing conditions which confront the nation and giving the constitution an elastic interpretation in cases where the national welfare seems obviously to require it. To be sure, this is called substituting expediency for principle and discrediting the work of the fathers; but on the other hand it is logically permissible, at least, to interpret the constitution as it might reasonably be supposed the fathers themselves would have originally framed it had they been called upon to face the conditions of to-day. It is a familiar fact that written instruments, which at one period are the guarantee of liberty, at another time and under widely different conditions may even become a positive restriction of liberty. In such cases it is the instruments and not the conditions that always are and always will be modified. The famous decision of the supreme court in the Dred Scott case in 1857 is perhaps the most striking illustration in American history of this irresistible tendency. The court held, by the same line of reasoning now advanced by Chief Justice Fuller and three concurring justices, that the constitution extends uniformly to the territories. This, instead of guaranteeing "freedom" according to the original spirit of the constitution, really permitted the extension of negro slavery into the territories, a problem quite unforeseen by the founders. The conflict was between strict interpretation of the constitution, on the one hand, and the exigencies of a new and vital problem on the other. The court stood for the strict interpretation, but the nation obeyed the law—more powerful yet—of irrepressible progress, and established the contrary principle by four years of civil war.

Significance
of the Decision

To say this is not necessarily to defend the present decisions in the Porto Rico case, but it is say that if the largest welfare of the nation required the liberal rather than the strict interpretation the court was acting in accordance with its highest duty and violating no honorable tradition in adopting the more liberal view. Unfortunately, in the present case the decision can hardly be regarded as a gain to the nation; the most that can be said is that it permits the choice of the lesser of two evils. Unquestionably, even with the modified interpretation of Justice Brown, it opens the door to a policy of colonial expansion in any quarter of the globe, the only restrictions being that congress rather than the president must decide the conditions under which this expansion shall take place. In fact, it establishes the imperialistic principle, but under present conditions there is less real danger to our fundamental safeguards of liberty involved in this than would come from giving the strict interpretation and making Porto Ricans, Hawaiians and Filipinos citizens of the United States, entitled to free immigration, free trade and later to a voice in the government of the American people.

The problem before the nation was one that was certain to have doubtful consequences, whichever decision the court might give. It is a misfortune that the only way of escaping the perils of a new race problem, to follow the one which once nearly wrecked the union and has burdened it ever since, was to establish the nation in the quasi-monarchical colonial policy. It is reassuring to reflect, however, in connection with the new order of things which the court's decision opens up, that there can be no purely arbitrary power exercised by the president, and furthermore, that congress, in whatever legislation it may adopt for our new possessions, is itself bound by certain fundamental restric-

tions guaranteeing the common rights of life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness and protection to property. Congress from henceforth may not be bound to extend the constitutional forms of government to new territories, but whatever forms of government it does establish must be consistent with the broad general provisions which prescribe the legislative powers of congress itself.

**Effect on
Philippine Policy**

The Pepke case, involving the status of the Philippine islands, has not yet been decided, although it was the first of the cases of this kind brought before court. Pepke was a soldier in our army in the Philippines, and upon his return brought with him fourteen diamond rings which were at the time admitted free of duty. Later he was arrested as a smuggler and the rings seized by the government. This was after the treaty of peace by which the Philippines were ceded to the United States, and the claim for return of the rings is based on the same reasoning as in the De Lima case with reference to imports from Porto Rico.

It would seem that the decision in the De Lima case made it practically certain that Pepke would win his contention, not because the Philippines were a "foreign country" at the time he returned to the United States, but because congress had not authorized any tariff duties against Philippine products and, being domestic territory, no duties could be collected without such congressional authority. As a matter of fact, congress has not yet passed any tariff law with reference to the Philippines, and if the court follows the reasoning in the De Lima case it will mean that all duties collected on imports from the Philippines since the treaty of Paris will have to be refunded. Free trade with the islands will then continue, unless con-

gress sees fit to frame a tariff as it did in the case of Porto Rico. It is logical to assume, as a part of this, that unless congress otherwise orders there can be no restriction of immigration of Filipinos into the United States.

The administration believes, however, that the court will hold the Philippine problem to be different from that of Porto Rico, and give a different decision; indeed, that this difference is shown by the very fact that the court withheld its decision in the *Pepke* case. There may be force in this, yet the two principal reasons, as given by Solicitor-General Richards, for expecting a different decision on the Philippine problem do not seem at all well-founded. Mr. Richards thinks "it was not the intention of the United States in acquiring the Philippine islands to make them domestic territory or treat them as such." This may or may not be true, but if it was the intention of congress that the Philippines should remain a "foreign country" then clearly, under the recent decisions of the court, we are not entitled to exercise any authority there whatever. The court has declared that the treaty of peace and possession of the islands made Porto Rico domestic territory, and that: "We are unable to acquiesce in this assumption that a territory may be at the same time both foreign and domestic." Of course, we are not entitled to exercise civil authority in or over a foreign country, yet that is exactly what we are doing in the Philippines, so far as we can enforce it. Therefore, whether or not it was the intention of congress to treat the Philippines as a foreign country after the treaty of peace, it clearly had no constitutional right to do so. Our acceptance of the islands and exercise of authority in them made them domestic territory. Congress has no power to hold them as a "disembodied shade."

Cession and Possession

The other contention made by the solicitor-general is that both "cession and possession" are necessary to make the islands domestic territory. This was Justice Brown's language with reference to Porto Rico, where of course there was no question about the possession being as real as the cession; but it is urged that the Philippines are still on a war basis and only partly in our possession.

As an illustration of the agile gymnastics in logic that often follow the prick of some sudden political emergency, this is most interesting. For more than two years we have been assured that there "is no war in the Philippines," but only an uprising of a few scattered tribes, and that not even the laws of international warfare need be observed with reference to these "bandits." This was the substance of the very learned opinion of Professor Woolsey, of Yale, published with editorial approval in a recent number of the *Outlook*, relating to the capture of Aguinaldo. Funston's methods clearly violated the international code, but, according to Professor Woolsey, we are not bound to recognize this code because the insurgents are not recognized belligerents but simply rebels against the lawful authority of the United States government. Supporters of the administration policy in the Philippines were delighted with this opinion and felt a certain dignified expansion over it; it is almost strange that out of the scholastic atmosphere of respectability that suddenly closed around the incident Funston did not emerge with a LL.D. Now, however, the court has declared possession necessary to make a conquered territory domestic, and suddenly it appears that we are still at war in the Philippines and that the islands are still "foreign country." Then, of course, instead of suppressing a rebellion of bandits we must be making war on the people

of a foreign country; instead of "preservation of order" it must be conquest and subjugation. It is for the administration to decide which is the preferable horn of the dilemma.

As a matter of technical accuracy there is indeed no "war" in the Philippines. Technically the islands are ours by virtue of the treaty with Spain, and the United States government is engaged in suppressing an insurrection. The contention we have steadily made, that our policy there ought to follow the lines pursued in Cuba and that we ought to observe the laws of war in reference to the Filipinos, was not based on the ground that the United State has no *technical* right to pursue its present course. This country unquestionably has the technical right to hold the islands permanently if it will, and treat the Filipino army simply as rebels; our appeal for the contrary policy has been and is based on what we regard as the larger interests of civilization and humanity.

But the point at issue in the present complication is simply one of constitutional right, not of internal policy. In this respect it seems to us there can be no question that the Philippines are ours, both by cession and "possession." So far as any outside power is concerned we are fully in possession of the Philippines, and it seems altogether the more reasonable assumption that it is in this sense that Justice Brown used the word. Certainly we cannot imagine the supreme court taking the position that a rebellion within United States territory makes the section affected one whit less completely "domestic" than it was before. A government cannot recognize any diminution of its authority because of the fact of an insurrection, nor admit that it is not in "possession" of the section in rebellion, so far as holding that section as domestic territory is concerned. If a rebellion were to arise in

Alaska, for example, would the district affected be regarded as a foreign country which it was necessary for us to subjugate before it could be considered domestic again? The notion is absurd, but not more so than to regard the Philippines as foreign simply because we have an unsuppressed rebellion there. Spain was technically the owner of the islands; that right was transferred to us, and every other nation recognizes it and makes no attempt to interfere. That constitutes lawful title and possession.

If the court follows this line of reasoning in the *Pepke* case, we shall have free trade with the Philippines until congress provides otherwise. The president will have no power to proclaim a special tariff against Philippine products even under the law which at present gives him exceptional powers with reference to Philippine affairs. These special powers relate to the internal government of the islands. They certainly convey no authority to alter the tariff regulations of the federal union. It is doubtful, also, whether the special tariff proclaimed by the president for imports going into the Philippines will be sustained by the court, since it has already declared that tariff duties cannot be collected except by act of congress. Many complications would result from such a decision, but they could be endured if the result was a wholesome check to the marked tendency of congress to relieve itself of responsibility for national problems by vesting extraordinary personal powers in the president. It is infinitely more important to hold congress and the president within the constitution than to bring our new island possessions within the constitution. If the supreme court secures this for the nation it will raise another bulwark of defence around the sacredness of our free institutions.

**Cuba Accepts
Autonomy**

It was a foregone conclusion that sooner or later Cuba would accept the terms demanded by our government as the condition of withdrawing our troops from the island. However reluctant the convention was, there could be no escape. Even if the United States had decided to annex Cuba outright there could of course have been no serious resistance.

The so-called "Platt amendment" (to the army appropriation bill), containing these conditions, was adopted by the senate last February. The Cuban convention, after long debate, on April 12th rejected these terms by a vote of 18 to 10, but at the same time decided to send a commission of five to the United States to confer with the president. Dr. Capote, president of the convention, was put at the head of this commission. The visit was made, and extended conferences held with President McKinley and Secretary Root. The outcome was that four out of the five commissioners returned to Cuba prepared to vote in favor of accepting the amendment, and after another month of discussion this was done. The convention on June 12th agreed to the demands of the United States by a vote of 16 to 11, and the road is now regarded clear for the setting up of a Cuban government, probably within a year's time.

We have purposely called this an acceptance of "autonomy" on the part of Cuba. Genuine independence it is not and cannot be. It may be the best possible settlement of the Cuban problem, but we only need to apply the case to ourselves to see whether we have really given Cuba independence, or autonomy under a protectorate. Suppose England, during the revolutionary war, had offered to withdraw its troops and let us set up a government of our own, on condition that we would never make any treaty with a

foreign power regarding the ownership or control of any part of this country, nor contract any debt beyond our capacity to pay, but give the English the perpetual right to intervene in our domestic affairs whenever they might regard it necessary to protect life, liberty and property; surrender an important piece of territory, and sell or lease to the British government lands necessary for coaling and naval stations. Suppose, then, we had accepted these conditions; would it have been independence? Would we regard ourselves now as an independent nation if any foreign power possessed any such rights with reference to American affairs?

Perhaps, as we have said, it is better that Cuba should be subjected to this strict control; perhaps, on the other hand, the result will be so to lessen among the Cubans the sense of national pride and responsibility for their own affairs that very little genuine effort will be made to carry on a clean and stable government. Certain it is that the virtual protectorate we have assumed does not carry out either the letter or the spirit of the congressional resolutions of April 18th, 1898, in which we declared:

"That the United States hereby disclaims any disposition or intention to exercise sovereignty, jurisdiction, or control over said island, except for the pacification thereof, and asserts its determination when that is completed to leave the government and control of the island to its people."

An "American Colonial Policy" Senator Beveridge of Indiana has suggested that this newly assumed power of suzerainty over Cuba may have an important bearing on our policy "in other situations and in other quarters of the globe." The Platt amendment he regards as "a potent factor in developing an American colonial policy. This has been interpreted by some to mean that the administration intends ultimately to set up an independent government in the

Philippines under conditions similar to those imposed upon Cuba. Wholesome as this would be, there is little real encouragement for such an expectation. President McKinley, throughout his recent western trip, declared with increasing emphasis the government's intention to hold the Philippines permanently. At Roanoke, Virginia, for example, he said:

"We are not only expanding our markets, but we are expanding our territory. The policy of the United States has always been to keep what it originally started with and hold all it honorably gets. We refused to divide our original possessions, and we will be the last to desert our new possessions."

In spite of this seeming positiveness, it should be remembered that no president was ever more susceptible to public opinion than Mr. McKinley, and also that there is to be no third term. If the Platt amendment works well in Cuba, and conditions in the Philippines do not greatly improve, a strong public sentiment may develop in favor of the very thing suggested by Senator Beveridge, and, if President McKinley does not feel its effects in time to modify our policy in that direction, another administration may. It is to be hoped that the Cuban plan will work successfully, however wide it may come of fulfilling our pledge made in 1898, because in this at present lies almost the only remaining hope of avoiding permanent annexation both of Cuba and of the Philippine islands.

Plundering China

The nearer the Chinese complication approaches solution, the more satisfactory and creditable the part of the United States throughout it all is seen to have been. Prompt, uncompromising and vigorous in the early work of rescuing the legations and suppressing the boxer outrages, our government has been quite as strongly on the side of moderation, reason and humanity ever since. Our troops have been the least guilty of any in the matter

of looting. They have had no share in Von Waldersee's "vengeance" raids. We took a pronounced stand, almost to the point of open rupture with some of the powers, against the official stealing of valuable Chinese relics, and we were among the first to withdraw our soldiers from Chinese soil. All this has been so thoroughly recognized by the Chinese that a mass meeting was held in Peking shortly before General Chaffee's departure, as a testimonial of appreciation and good will.

In the purely diplomatic matters of indemnity and terms of peace, our stand has been for fairness and moderation. Our indemnity demand is a relatively insignificant portion of the immense sum of 450,000,000 taels (more than \$300,000,000) formally demanded by the powers on May 9th, and we have made the effort repeatedly to have this vast total reduced by at least one-half. The Chinese are now trying to get the powers to agree to accept thirty annual payments of 15,000,000 taels each, to be raised from the salt tax, the likin tax and from native customs. As this will consume revenues now used for government support, permission is asked to increase the duties on foreign imports by one-third. This suggestion will hardly be adopted. Another proposition, coming from Russian sources, is that the powers jointly guarantee a loan to be raised by China for paying the indemnity; but the United States government favors instead the plan of having each nation accept and guarantee for itself Chinese bonds to the amount of the indemnity due it, independently of the others. These bonds would bear 4 per cent. interest.

**It is Vengeance
Not Reparation**

Taken in connection with the conduct of certain of the powers in China during the last few months, the demand for \$300,000,000 indemnity is no less than a monstrous outrage.

A communication from one of our officials in China, published as a Washington dispatch in the *New York Tribune* of May 6th, points out very clearly that no such amount of money could be raised in China without radical changes in the whole Chinese system of government, which would probably lead directly to dismemberment of the empire. The same communication says that:

"If the whole horror of the murder and pillage done between Tien-Tsin and Peking comes to be understood in the United States and in Europe, the sum of it is so great as compared to the number of Christians who have suffered at the hands of the Chinese that, rightly or wrongly, the Chinese are likely to be held the injured party. Lancers wantonly impaling little children by the wayside in the streets of Peking are some of the least of the well authenticated horrors, and to some foreign soldiers a dead Chinese Christian is just as satisfactory an evidence of no quarter as a dead Boxer—they neither know nor care for such trifling distinctions. Diplomatic officials, consuls, missionaries and foreign employees in the Chinese service are alike at a loss to see the issue in any definite shape, but the most reasonable conjecture to-day is that China will temporize with a view to keeping the powers from fighting among themselves over her dismembered body, and to gain time for the knowledge of her miseries to overshadow her crimes.

"The allies, even if they could agree, could not set up an administrative machinery of their own for the empire. They must restore the power to some native party, and the quicker they do it the better for China. It is impossible to understand the attitude of some of the missionaries. Talking with several recently and speaking of the killing of every living thing in a certain village because of the murder of a Christian, I was met with the placid remark that it would prove a useful warning—the killing of women and children.

"In the old days the Spaniards, before they slaughtered aborigines, used to give them a chance to kiss the cross before they died, that their souls might be speedily in Paradise, but moderns know better and do not try to save the murdered Chinese man or woman from a plain and simply furnished Calvinistic hell.

"The Chinese estimate that one million of their people have lost their lives by violent deaths or starvation about Peking and Tien-Tsin since the allies came. Well-informed foreigners long resident here do not regard the estimate as exaggerated."

This might be a twenty-fold exaggeration and still leave the Chinese by far the heavier losers in the whole situation. But if General Chaffee, in his official report

now being published, is right, even these appalling figures may not be greatly overstated. He says, for example:

"For about three weeks following the arrival of the relief column at Peking the condition in and about the city and along the line of communication was bad. Looting of the city, uncontrolled foraging in the surrounding country and seizure by soldiers of everything a Chinaman might have, as vegetables, eggs, chickens, sheep, cattle, etc., whether being brought to the city or found on the farm; indiscriminate and generally unprovoked shooting of Chinese in city, country and along the line of march and the river—all this did not tend, as was natural, to gain for the troops the confidence of the masses, with whom, it is certain, we have no quarrel, but were in need of their labor. It is safe to say that where one real boxer has been killed since the capture of Peking fifty harmless coolies or laborers on farms, including not a few women and children, have been slain. The boxer element is largely mixed with the mass of population, and by slaying a lot one or more boxers might be taken in."

On the score of lives lost and property destroyed or stolen, an outsider with a spark of humanity might suppose that the powers' thirst for "vengeance" would be considered amply satisfied already, but not so; in reality, much the larger part of this \$300,000,000 indemnity is vengeance money, pure and simple. It is inconceivable that all the losses of foreigners in China and expenses of the expeditions last summer could have reached anywhere near such a sum. The missionary boards would be delighted if their entire holdings of property in China, destroyed and undestroyed, amounted to a five-hundredth part of this sum, while the total military expenditures of all the powers together could hardly have exceeded \$50,000,000. A recent estimate prepared by Mr. Robert Gordon Butler, of New York city, of the cost of the various wars of the nineteenth century, places the total of the deadly China-Japan war at only \$300,000,000 *for both sides*. If the indemnity now demanded of China is correct, the short march to Peking and military occupation since last summer must have cost the allies nearly six times as

much as the expenses of both the United States and Mexico in the Mexican war of 1846-'48; four times as much as all the Chinese wars of the century before the China-Japan struggle; nearly half as much as the British-Boer war up to date, and almost one-third as much as the whole Spanish-American-Philippine war during the last three years.

If the Christian nations want China to come out of this imbroglio with the one firm conviction that Christian principles in practice mean arbitrary vengeance and wholesale plunder of the helpless, they are taking exactly the right course to that end. Only, if they do persist in teaching that lesson, it will not be in order to denounce Mr. Wu Ting Fang with holy indignation when he makes one of his mildly cynical suggestions, some day, that China send missionaries into Christendom and Christendom keep its own at home. Even the "heathen" Chinaman can understand, after hearing it preached for decades, that: "By their fruits ye shall know them."

Boer War
Not Over

Lord Salisbury may have been right in his speech of May 13th, at a banquet in London, in declaring that the Boer war

"has shown the strength of England, which was never more conclusively shown;" but it is equally certain that the same struggle has shown the marvellous persistency and unexpected resources of the Boers. The latter fact is even the more remarkable. It was to be expected that England would make a great showing in any conflict, but it could hardly have been supposed that after almost two years of warfare with the most powerful empire in the world the little South African nations would still have in the field an army estimated by Mr. Balfour at 17,000 men, and be continually harassing the British in a dozen quarters. It is as im-

possible not to admire this persistency as it is not to deplore the useless dragging on of a conflict which can have only one end, however far away that may be.

On June 2nd the Boers captured Jamestown, in Cape Colony, and secured a large quantity of supplies. About the same time a desperate assault was made by General Delarey with 1200 Boers on a British column of 1400, near Vlakfontein, forty miles from Johannesburg. It was unsuccessful, but the losses inflicted on the British were very heavy, some 57 killed and 121 wounded. A still more serious encounter took place near Welmansrust, in the territory between Pretoria and Delagoa Bay, on June 12th. A force of Boers attacked 250 of the Victorian Mounted Rifles, killed 18, wounded 42, and captured all but 52 of the remainder. The prisoners were released, but two large guns were carried off. On the other hand, the British have recently defeated several detachments of Boers, while the Boer commandant, Van Rensburg, with 100 men, has surrendered at Pietersberg. Thus the costly struggle drags its weary length along.

Of all the Boer leaders, General Botha is the most anxious for peace. His wife is now in London, possibly bearing peace proposals to the British government. De Wet, however, is as irreconcilable as ever, and apparently has secured reinforcements lately from Dutch sympathizers in Cape Colony.

England's Financial Straits

Of course it is possible that the British government would decline to accept Botha's surrender if De Wet's were not coupled with it, but this is not probable. England is more than anxious to end the struggle. The statement made in the house of commons last April by Sir Michael Hicks-Beach, chancellor of the exchequer, was described by Sir William Vernon Harcourt as "the

most disastrous statement that the exchequer had ever made,"—an opposition criticism which of course should be taken with some reservation. The statement showed that during the last fiscal year the war had cost the national treasury some £65,000,000, while the total government expenditures were £53,207,000 in excess of receipts. To meet this shortage and provide for continued heavy expenses, the government has increased the national debt by a loan of £60,000,000, and parliament has levied tariff duties on sugar, molasses and glucose; increased the income tax, and placed an export duty on coal. That England should be brought to the point of restoring important customs tariff duties after more than half a century of free trade shows the serious proportions of the strain the Boer war has imposed upon British resources. It is interesting to note that while, in recommending the sugar tariff, the chancellor disclaimed any intention of protecting British refiners, his argument for "fair play" for the British refiner "as compared with his continental rivals," was practically a concession to protective doctrine, and reflects the change which for several years has been slowly coming over British public opinion in this respect and is likely to lead to still more important modifications of free-trade policy.

MANIA FOR TARIFF AGITATION

There is a certain class of free traders who seem bent on verifying Comte's doctrine that facts can only be seen through a theory. With them experience is wasted and history counts for naught. All the inequalities in economics and industry are ascribed to the protective tariff. National prosperity is naught as compared with the luxury of a public agitation against protection, though it disrupt the business of the nation and substitute bankruptcy, enforced idleness, tramps and soup-houses for business prosperity and national welfare. It would almost seem as if from their point of view prosperity is a misfortune that must be stopped if the nation is to be saved from perdition.

They tried it in 1892, with a success which was quite effective until 1896. But the wickedness of wealth and prosperity is again forging ahead, and the call of conscience and pressure of high ideals is again inspiring them to action. Just what calamities would befall the nation if it could continue its present progress for ten years uninterrupted by a disturbing tariff agitation is difficult to predict. Whatever others may do, they have evidently resolved to clear their consciences of any responsibility for the evils of national prosperity. The group of persons and papers who hold this view are intensely in earnest and have the courage of their convictions. Indeed, they are so intensely earnest that they would sacrifice the nation for their theory. Of course they see that it is a little painful at first, but that is a mere chastising preparation for the ideal conditions that are to follow. The more painful the process the greater the glory in surviving. It is quite natural, therefore, that these philosophers should feel called upon to inaugurate a business-disturbing cam-

paign about this time. Prosperity was never greater; progress never more rapid, and social welfare never more universal in this country than at present.

For the last few years they have been rather quiet. When wages were falling, work-shops closing, tramps increasing and soup-houses busy, they had nothing to say. But now that these things have all passed away, they are inspired to renew their activities.

By way of opening the campaign, Mr. Edward Atkinson has just presented to the industrial commission the case against protection. The chief points on which he based his argument for free trade are: (1) That liberty will solve all the economic problems; (2) that the highest wages always give lowest cost of production per unit of product; (3) that since wages are higher the labor cost per unit of product is lower in this country than in any other; (4) that protection has retarded, though it could not stop, the development of iron and steel industries; (5) that the South is forging to the front without protection; (6) that the tariff is unjust because it only affects a fraction of our industries; (7) that England is our true example. Let us consider these in the order named.

I. Liberty is a fascinating term. It is a charmed word to conjure with. On the lips of the sophist or the demagogue, liberty can often be made to cover bad reasoning, inconsistencies and even misrepresentation. It is one of the misused and much abused words in our language. There are two types of liberty, negative and positive. Negative liberty is the liberty of savagery; positive liberty is the liberty of civilization. Negative liberty is the mere absence of restriction, which is anarchy. Those who possess the most of that kind of liberty have the least real freedom of any people on the earth. The savage protects nobody and nobody protects him. Everything and everybody is

his enemy; he can neither eat, sleep, work nor travel in safety, and all because there are no organized restrictions of conduct.

In civilization the case is widely different. By its very restrictions, society protects the individual in his freedom to go and to come, to have and to hold in peace and security. He may travel around the world without jeopardizing the safety and welfare of his person, property or friends, and all because society vouchsafes him protection. Indeed, this protection is the very bulwark of his freedom, and there is no freedom worth having without it. When society does not protect, nature and barbarism restrict and repress; when society protects, barbarism departs and nature aids civilization and serves man in larger liberty.

The negative doctrine of liberty leads to a non-scientific theory of public policy. It rests on the principle of blind (so-called "natural") selection, and denies the right of government to create or protect the opportunities for new economic and social activities. It is represented by the negative, "let-alone" school of statesmanship. The positive doctrine of liberty leads to a scientific theory of public policy; it rests on the principle of conscious, societary selection, and affirms the right of government to aid in the creation of new and larger opportunities for economic and social activities. It is represented by the constructive, protective school of statesmanship.

Mr. Atkinson represents the negative doctrine of liberty; consequently, the more logical his reasoning the more *laissez-faire* his policy will be. His inevitable ideal will be free trade, regardless of consequences to existing institutions and future opportunities. From his point of view he necessarily proceeds upon the assumption that, if let entirely alone, every individual or nation will do that which it can do best and thereby

minister most efficiently to the aggregate of human welfare. Thus, if the physical resources of a nation make it easier for a people to be miners, foresters and agriculturists than to engage in manufacture and commerce, they should resign themselves to digging coal, cutting wood and raising food for the world, leaving manufacturing to others with better "natural facilities." This doctrine subordinates national development to the physical resources of the country instead of subordinating the physical resources of the country to national development.

Mr. Atkinson's doctrine fails to recognize the important fact taught by all history: namely, that the character, social life, and type of civilization of nations are mainly determined by the character of the people's employments. As people work so they live; as they live so are their ideas formed and their type of character and civilization molded. Monotonous extractive industries promote monotonous social life, with the minimum personal and political ambition. Diversified industries, on the other hand, lead to variety of experience and activities, and consequently stimulate industrial, social and political progress. To the extent, therefore, that communities remain uniform and monotonous in their occupations, they have been static in their social, political and religious institutions. Conversely, to the extent that they have become diversified and specialized in their industries, they have advanced in social character, personal freedom, civic and religious rights, and progressive civilization. To this there is no exception in the history of nations.

In the first half of the century, the industrial conditions in this country made agriculture and mining and extractive industries practically the only feasible occupations. Had Mr. Atkinson's doctrines been applied, we should probably have remained an agricul-

tural nation for centuries. Under the then existing conditions manufacture was practically impossible; it lay in the direction of the greatest resistance. But, by applying the principle of scientific selection and protecting the potential economic opportunities, manufacture and highly diversified industries became as profitable as agriculture and mining. Thus, by the adoption of the positive instead of the negative theory of statesmanship, diversified industries became more attractive and profitable than monotonous occupations, and progress became cheaper than static sterility. In this, as in every other nation throughout history, the great progress dates from the diversification of industries. It is in this that our national development, our standing in civilization, and our power among the nations of the world consists. No merely agricultural nation ever was a great leader in the world's civilization.

At bottom, then, the development of civilized freedom and national strength and greatness depends on the diversification of industrial occupations. Wherever nature or the physical resources of a nation fail to promote industrial diversification, that should be done by society. It is the preeminent function of government to promote the progress of the people, and, where nature fails to furnish the opportunities and incentives for this, scientific selection should be substituted for natural selection and statesmanship should supply as far as possible the opportunities which nature fails to furnish.

II. Mr. Atkinson then lays down the proposition that the highest wages give the lowest labor cost per unit of product. It is true that high wages tend to make low labor cost of production, but, like every other principle in society, this is a law of tendency only, and not of exact quantity. In the first place, it is not true that high wages give low labor cost except when ac-

accompanied by highly improved machinery, and even then it is true only when the machinery is developed by the same social conditions that produce the high wages. For the most part the improved machinery is a consequence of the double pressure of labor's demand for higher wages and the increased demand for goods by the larger consumption which the high wages make possible. But, when the improved machinery is the product of high-wage conditions in one community or country and is used under low-wage conditions in another, the statement that high wages make lower labor cost is not true. This is abundantly illustrated wherever the best American machinery is used in connection with low-paid labor; as, for instance, in the shoe industry in Austria. American shoe machinery used in Austria, with the low wages of Austrian labor, furnish a much lower labor cost per unit of product than high-wage laborers using the same machines in England, and the consequence is that by virtue of the lower labor cost, due to the low wages in Austria, Austrian shoe manufacturers can undersell English manufacturers in the English market.

Another example of this is cotton manufacture in our southern states. With the low wages of southern labor and highly developed machinery of Massachusetts, the labor cost per unit of product in a South Carolina cotton mill is much less than with the high-wage labor in a Massachusetts cotton mill, as all New England manufacturers well know; a fact that will be still more apparent whenever dull trade forces competition to its limit between New England and southern cotton manufacturers.

III. From this half-truth Mr. Atkinson makes the further mistaken assumption that, since wages are higher in the United States than in foreign countries, we necessarily have the lowest labor cost of production

and hence have no need of protection. On the strength of this he makes the sweeping assertion that "nine-tenths or more of all the articles consumed in this country are made at less cost for labor than in any other country, whatever the rates of wages may be."* If this statement were true, the importation of manufactured products would be impossible, but unfortunately the facts are strikingly against it. In 1894 our imports of dutiable manufactured articles amounted to \$88,494,655; in 1896, under the lower duties of the Wilson law, these imports rose to \$137,530,641, an increase of nearly 60 per cent. If the labor cost of production in nine-tenths of the products of this country had been less than in any other this would have been absolutely impossible. The mistaken policy adopted from 1893 to 1897 was born of this half-truth misrepresentation for which we paid so dearly.

IV. As if to challenge the obvious, Mr. Atkinson then cited the iron and steel industry as an instance where the influence of protection "has only retarded national development and has not stopped it." If there is one industry or group of industries in this country which were helplessly undersold by foreign competitors, it is the iron and steel industries. The prevailing high wages made it impossible for American capital to enter the iron and steel industries and apply skill and invention, until the opportunity was vouchsafed by the protection of the American market. In 1867 it cost \$120 to make a ton of steel rails in this country, while it only cost \$65.70 in England. The foreigners had \$54 a ton the advantage. The high wages in America did not then furnish the lowest cost of production, but on the contrary they made competition impossible. But, under the influence of protection, instead of being retarded the industry was so rapidly and enormously

* "Taxation and Work," p. 252.

developed, both in extent of market, application of invention and development of superior methods, that the cost of production has been reduced more than three times as much in this country as in free-trade England since 1867. These are now the very industries in which we are leading the world's production. If this is the result of "retarding industries," it would be well to have all our manufacturing industries retarded in the same way.

V. As the next illustration of his theory, Mr. Atkinson points to the development of manufacture in the South, and says:

"Have not these infant iron masters and cotton manufacturers of the South given a lead and presented an example to the adults of the North and West? What other protection than that of their own rapidly developed skill and capacity have they needed?"

One would think that even Mr. Atkinson would not be so blinded by his theory as not to see what is obvious to the ordinary observer: namely, that it is the machinery of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, developed under protection, that is making the wonderful industrial revolution in the South. Mr. Atkinson could hardly have cited a worse case for his theory than the "infant iron masters and cotton manufacturers of the South." They are the children of protection in the East.

VI. Mr. Atkinson's next objection to protection is that those employed in protected industries form but a small proportion of the whole population. Nothing could more clearly show how this class of reasoners utterly misapprehend the essential principle and social operation of protection. They evidently think that nobody is benefited by protection except those who are directly subjected to foreign competition. Nothing could be farther from the truth. The benefits that

come from protection are not the exceptional profits or exceptional wages received by those employed in the protected industries, but the existence of the industries themselves in this country, and through their existence indirectly the existence of a multitude of other industries.

For instance, the existence of the various branches of the iron industries contributes largely to the manufacture of factory machinery, the building of factories, construction of railroads, and through the prosperity of these industries the growth of towns and in the towns the multitude of domestic industries like carpentering, masonry, plumbing, tailoring, furniture and a hundred and one tributary occupations which arise out of the social growth of the community in town and city life. The wages of bricklayers, masons and machinists, locomotive engineers, architects, jewellers, painters, decorators, and in hundreds of mechanical industries, have nothing directly to do with the tariff. Like all other wages, they are the outcome of the standard of living of the laborers in the specific industries, and the development of the industries and general prosperity, together with the educational and social opportunities of the laborers, forces up the high standard of wages. But, since the very development of this multitude of non-foreign competitive industries is indirectly dependent upon the development of diversified industries due to the tariff, the high wages and prosperity in the non-protected industries are just as much the result of protection as are the wages in the protected industries. And the reason wages are often higher in the non-protected than in the protected industries is because these industries are frequently in cities and highly developed communities, and in their very nature call for men whose skill and intelligence is inseparably associated with a high standard of living. This notion that the tariff benefits only those engaged in protected indus-

tries shows a painful misapprehension both of the doctrine of protection and of the true law of wages.

VII. Lastly, Mr. Atkinson points to Great Britain as the one example in the world to be imitated. He triumphantly asks: "How did Great Britain attain to the paramount position which she has held during the last half century? Was it not by removing the shackles from commerce?" No, it was not by removing the shackles from commerce at all. That was merely the culminating incident. The real thing that gave Great Britain her leading position in commerce was the centuries of protection she gave to the development of her manufacturing and commercial industries. One might as well say that breaking the egg produces the chick. It was under this regime of protection that the factory system rose in England. So exclusive was English protection that it prohibited down to 1842 the exportation of machines or patterns of machines, or the emigration of mechanics who could make and set up machines. By 1846 its mechanical development had so outstripped the rest of the world that protection to manufactured commodities became unnecessary. In taking the duty off manufactures, English statesmen had exactly the same motive as American statesmen had in putting the tariff on American manufactures. The object in both cases was to promote the manufacturing industries of the nation. England had the factories and needed the market; we had the market and needed the manufactures. England removed duties to get foreign markets; we put on duties to protect our home market. We protected our home market and have the result in our present industrial development; England threw open her market for agricultural products without having developed superiority in agricultural methods, and has the result in the stagnation, even retrogression, of her agricultural classes. But the object and purpose

of our policy in having protection and of the English policy in adopting free trade was substantially the same—to increase manufactures.

The folly of assuming that the same policy will produce the same result under all conditions is painfully shown by the effect of free trade upon English agriculture. Like Mr. Atkinson, Cobden and his friends thought that free trade was a universal solvent, and if beneficial for one industry it would be equally beneficial to all industries under all conditions. For this mistaken notion England has paid a terrible penalty. We could undersell England in agriculture about as effectively as she could undersell us in manufacture. Consequently, free trade gave the English market for foodstuffs to foreigners and English agriculture has declined ever since. Cultivated land has not merely declined in proportion to population, but it has actually diminished, by millions of acres going out of cultivation, and the effect upon agriculture has been simply appalling. Agricultural laborers to-day are getting a shilling a week less wages than were agricultural laborers in 1840. There is no place in Christendom where wages have not risen during the last sixty years except among the agricultural laborers of England. Free trade in foodstuffs has prevented English agricultural laborers from getting any share in the progress of the last sixty years except what has reached them through the cheapening of the small amount of manufactured products they can obtain on ten shillings a week.

HOW REFORMERS USE FACTS

Through Mr. Byron W. Holt, the New York Reform Club recently appeared before the industrial commission to show why the tariff should be abolished. Like Mr. Bryan, Mr. Holt evidently thinks "trusts" are a great bugaboo with which to frighten the people out of their political senses. If it could only be shown that the tariff is the cause of trusts it would be much easier to array the people against the tariff. The case was presented jointly by Mr. Atkinson* and Mr. Holt, Mr. Atkinson presenting the theory and Mr. Holt the facts against protection.

Since this is likely to be the policy of the tariff-reform crusade, it may be well to consider somewhat in detail the tariff reformer's method of using facts. Mr. Holt begins with the declaration that the tariff "ties the hands of the American consumer while the trusts pick his pocket." It is needless to say that if this statement is proven his cause is won and both the tariff and the trusts are doomed. By way of introduction, Mr. Holt thinks our statistics collected under a protective system are mere worthless cooked statistics to suit protected interests. He says:

"Another evil which I shall merely mention, though it is in my opinion a more important one than the watering of capital . . . is the juggling of prices and statistics. . . . The census of 1890 is grossly defective in some particulars and probably misleading and worthless as concerns the protected trusts. In other words, protected statistics are often misleading or false, and purposely so. In general, I believe they show a higher rate of wages than was actually paid. . . . To-day, when great trusts control prices on most of our exports, it is extremely difficult to obtain export prices. The editors of trade papers will no longer talk on this subject and as a rule will not keep on file foreign exchanges which quote prices of certain American goods in foreign countries. It is only now and then that an employee of a trust or of some export house can be found who is willing to risk betrayal and

* Mr. Atkinson's paper is discussed in another article in this number.

almost certain decapitation if he talks on this subject. Nearly all the information on this point which I have obtained during the last few years has been strictly confidential."

Thus, according to Mr. Holt, our whole system of statistics and economic information is a "juggled fraud;" the officers of the government are deliberate perverters of facts and deceivers of the public; our business men are dishonest, and the press, at least the trade press, is a mere subsidized instrument of misrepresentation in the interest of trusts and dishonest business. Mr. Holt's knowledge of all this is confidential. The dishonest transactions upon which he bases his "opinion" are a secret. He is "not permitted to mention names." If Mr. Holt's opinions and facts are of any value, the proper way to reform our tariff is to abolish the government altogether, burn our public documents, and so get rid of the mass of "juggled statistics" and cleanse the public service of a horde of dishonest officials who have polluted the public mind by false statements. The nation might then turn to Mr. Holt and his comrades for the guiding wisdom of his "opinions" and information which is strictly vouchsafed to him alone. This would doubtless simplify matters very much and give us an easy road to an ideal government.

But the American people have not yet lost all confidence in their government. They do not believe that the census of 1890 was a juggled mass of worthless figures, doctored in the interest of trusts and protected industries. They do not believe that the investigations conducted by Carroll D. Wright and the facts presented in the senate report are juggled misrepresentations. They do not believe that the wage statements thus collected are falsified. Fortunately for public welfare and scientific research, the people of this country and of the civilized world have more confidence in the economic

investigations and the integrity of our official statistics than they are likely to have in the unsupported cantankerous and offensively improbable statements of Mr. Byron W. Holt. He who imputes dishonesty to everybody may well be distrusted.

After thus impugning the integrity of our whole political and industrial institutions and public officials, Mr. Holt proceeds to show how bad the tariff is and how the trusts are robbing the public through putting up the prices of commodities. Among others, he selects steel rails, tin plate, window glass and wire nails.

First, steel rails. On the basis of his secret information and statements from the newspapers, Mr. Holt waxes exceptionally warm regarding the extortion practiced on the public in the case of steel rails. The value of these unverified statements may best be seen by study of the prices of steel rails in this country* and in England during the whole tariff and trust period:

	American.	Foreign.	Difference.	Tariff Duty.
1867	\$120 12	H. V. { \$65 70	\$54 42	45 p. c. ad. val.
1870	92 91	H. V. { 50 37	42 54	45 " "
1875	59 83	H. V. { 44 28	15 55	\$28 00 per ton.
1876	52 87	H. V. { 41 36	11 51	28 00 "
1880	67 50	H. V. { 35 28	32 22	28 00 "
1885	28 50	" { 23 12	5 38	17 00 "
1890	31 75	" { 24 02	7 73	13 44 "
1891	29 92	" { 20 37	9 55	13 44 "
1892	30 00	" { 19 47	10 53	13 44 "
1893	28 12	" { 17 64	10 48	13 44 "
1894	24 00	" { 17 64	6 36	13 44 "
1895	24 33	" { 23 12	1 21	7 84 "
1896	28 00	" { 23 12	4 88	7 84 "
1897	18 75	" { 21 90	† 3 15	7 84 "
1898	17 62	" { 22 51	† 4 98	7 84 "
1899	28 12	" { 34 07	† 5 95	7 84 "
1900	32 29	" { 29 20	3 09	7 84 "
1901 (May 22) . .	28 00	(M'y 18) { 29 22	2 43	7 84 "

* Prices for 1867, '70, '75 and '76, which was during our period of currency depreciation, have been reduced in this table to a gold basis, for the sake of proper comparison with English prices.

† Foreign price higher.

It will be seen from this table that before we began to manufacture steel rails, and relied on England for our supply, it cost Americans \$120.12 (in gold) a ton for steel rails which were sold in London at \$65.70. The duty was then 45 per cent., or about \$29.50 a ton, showing that the price here when we bought almost entirely from England was about \$25 a ton more than than the English price with the duty added. After sufficient protection was afforded to warrant American capital entering the steel-rail industry, the result of which was the development of the great Carnegie concern, the cost of production steadily lowered both here and abroad. But the American price fell so much more rapidly than the foreign that by 1875 the difference in the price of steel rails at New York and London was less than the amount of the tariff. By 1885 the difference was less than half the amount of the tariff, and by 1897 steel rails began to be sold at less here than in London. In 1897 they were \$3.15 a ton less; in 1898 \$4.98 a ton less, and in 1899 \$5.95 a ton less here than in England, although the tariff was \$7.84 a ton. In the last week in April, 1901, they were \$28 a ton in this country, and, according to the London *Economist* of May 18th, they were \$29.22 in England. Thus, under protection, we have transferred the industry to this country, and, by the development of superior machinery through large corporations, so-called "trusts," have reduced the price of steel rails since 1867 \$92 a ton, while in England they have only reduced the price \$36.48 a ton.

But what is worth far more to the nation than even this reduction in price is the establishment of the industry in this country and the development of numerous tributary industries which practically depend upon it. Thus, instead of the tariff helping the iron and steel manufactures to "pick the pockets" of the

people, besides developing the industry it has enabled American corporations to give the people nearly three times as much reduction in price as they would have had if we had continued to buy our whole supply from England. In 1867 we had to pay English manufacturers \$25 a ton as a mere monopoly tax for not having protected the industry in this country. During the first six years the American people received a reduction of \$25 by eliminating this English extortion through domestic competition. Since 1873, besides giving this country the full social and industrial benefit of the industry, we have reduced the price to American consumers, through superior methods and skill, more than twice as fast as under protection as England has under free trade, although our wages have been all the time from 50 to 80 per cent. higher.

What is true of steel rails is substantially true of the general staple products produced under the recent so-called trust combinations, as will be seen from the following table of prices from January, 1900, to February and March, 1901. Instead of the prices having been increased by the tariff "trusts," they have been reduced in almost every instance:

	Jan. 3, 1900.	Feb. 27, 1901.
Foundry iron, No. 1 (ton)	\$25.00	\$16.00
Bar iron, refined (100 lbs.)	2.20	1.45
Plate, tank steel (100 lbs.)	2.25	1.55
Bessemer pig (ton)	24.90	15.25
Gray forge "	21.25	14.00
Bar iron, common (100 lbs.)	2.15	1.40
Structural beams "	2.25	1.50
Structural angles "	2.25	1.40
Wire nails "	3.20	2.30
Cut nails "	2.50	2.05
	Mar. 1-7, 1900.	Mar. 20-22, 1901.
Iron bars	\$2.50	\$1.90
Steel bars	2.30	1.50
Steel billets (ton)	36.00	29.00
Steel rails "	35.00	26.00

	Mar. 1-7, 1900.	Mar. 20-22, 1901.
Coke (100 lbs.)	3.25*	2.00
Granulated Sugar (lb.) . . . . .	.05	.05
Refined petroleum (gal.) . . . . .	.10	.08
Copper (ton)	\$16.25	\$17.00
Pig iron warrants.	17.00	10.00
Tin (straits) (100 lbs.)	32.63	25.40
Lead	4.73	4.38
Spelter (zinc)	4.59	3.90
Tin plates.	5.00	4.20
	1888.	1898.
Railroad freight rates (per ton mile). . . . .	.01	.0075
		1899.
		.0072

Second, tin plate. Our tin-plate industry from its inception has indeed been a sore vexation to the opponents of protection. They declared for years that tin plate could not be made in this country, and long after several factories had been successfully established they denied their existence and insisted that the tin plate put upon the market was foreign plate marked American. The tin-plate industry is verily a child of protection. There was not a pound of tin plate manufactured in this country until after the tariff of 1890. During the first ten years of the tariff the industry was fully established in this country, and now practically our whole consumption is made here.

Mr. Holt makes two complaints against the tin-plate industry. First, that the American consumers have paid \$104,612,946 more for their tin plate than they would if it had been made abroad, as before the protective tariff. Second, that the trust has scandalously put up the price in addition to what the tariff increased it. The first charge is presented by giving the price of tin plate abroad and here and charging the difference to tariff extortion. This is a stock fallacy. It assumes that if we buy all our products abroad the American consumer will always get them at the same price that they are sold in the foreign market plus the

*May 30, 1900.

cost of transportation, which is almost never true. It is a matter of common knowledge that whenever we were wholly dependent upon foreigners for the supply of an article, as in the case of tin plate, the price was made exorbitant, the difference often being several times as much as the cost of transportation. This was conspicuously true of tin plates, as will be seen by a glance at the following table which gives the price of tin plates ten years before and twelve years after the adoption of the protective tariff. The first table is in 108-lb. boxes and the second 100-lb. boxes.

	American	Foreign	Difference
1880	\$8 00	\$4 86	\$3 14
1881	6 40	4 10	2 30
1882	6 20	4 10	2 10
1883	6 00	4 00	2 00
1884	5 65	3 89	1 76
1885	5 35	3 56	1 79
1886	5 25	3 35	1 90
1887	5 50	3 24	2 26
1888	5 45	3 24	2 21
1889	5 45	3 24	2 21

Average 2.165

Price of Tin per 100 lbs. since the Tariff of 1900.

1890	\$5 60	\$3 00	\$2 60
1891	5 78	3 00	2 78
1892	5 20	2 90	2 30
1893	5 10	2 80	2 30
1894	4 90	2 60	2 30
1895	3 63	2 40	1 23
1896	3 52	2 30	1 22
1897	3 72	2 30	1 42
1898	3 88	2 20	1 68
1899	3 75	2 30	1 45
1900	4 75	3 20	1 55
1901 (April)	4 20	3 90	30

Decrease 1.40 Increase90 Average 1.76

It will be seen from these tables that the average difference between the foreign and the domestic price

of tin plate during the ten years preceding 1890 was \$2.16 a box, while the average difference between the American and foreign price since we protected the industry and produced the tin in this country was only \$1.76 a box. In other words, the difference between the American and foreign price was 40 cents a box less under protection than under free trade. So that, if we adopt Mr. Holt's reasoning and regard the \$104,612,946 difference in the foreign and domestic price from 1891 to 1900 as the price paid for protection since 1890, we find that the price paid for not having protection from 1880 to 1890, on the same basis of consumption, must have been over \$130,000,000. In other words, by whatever name we call this difference, it was about 23 per cent. greater under free trade than it was under protection.

Nor is this all. It will be observed that since 1890 the price of tin plates has fallen very much more in this country than it has abroad. In 1890 the price of tin plates in the United States was \$5.60 a box of 100 lbs. It is now \$4.20—a decrease of \$1.40 a box, whereas the foreign price in 1890 was \$3.00 a box and on April 30th, 1901, it was \$3.90 a box—an increase of 90 cents. Thus, while the tariff has transferred the industry to this country, paid American wages and earned American profits, the price has been lowered \$1.40 a box, while English tin has been increased 90 cents a box. We are thus, in prices alone, really the gainers by \$2.30 a box through having protection and manufacturing the tin ourselves.

Is this what Mr. Holt calls "tying the hands of the American consumer while the trust picks his pocket?" If so, we would better have more of it.

So much for the tariff. Now a word on the "trust." Mr. Holt makes much of the rise of the price after the trust was organized. When the trust was

formed December 14th, 1898, the price of tin plate was \$3.95 a box, the average for the year being \$3.88. During the next thirteen months the price rose to \$5.00 a box, which was the highest point reached. This Mr. Holt points to as the exaction of the trust, denying that it was justified by any legitimate change in the cost of production. The tariff held the hands of the consumer while the trust picked his pocket of \$1.05 a box.

It is only necessary for any one desirous of forming an approximately fair opinion on this subject to look at the general price quotations during 1899, and note the increases of wages, to see that a large part of this increase was manifestly due to the rise in price of raw materials and labor. By May, 1899, pig tin had risen from $12\frac{3}{4}$ to 25 cents a pound, or 96 per cent.; steel billets from \$14.50 a ton to \$25, or $72\frac{4}{10}$ per cent. Wages and salaries in this industry had risen 11 per cent. The increase in the price of these items for 100 pounds of tin plate was as follows:

On $2\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. pig tin	\$.306
Steel billets (5 per cent. waste) . . . . .	.55
Wages and salaries . . . . .	.165
Total	<u>\$1.02</u>

Thus, by May, 1899 (when the price of tin had only risen to \$4.07½ a box, 12½ cents), the cost of raw materials and labor per box of tin plate had increased \$1.02, or 89½ cents more than the price of tin had risen and within 3 cents per 100 pounds of the highest price tin ever touched, which was seven months later. Since that time, wages have again risen 10 per cent., and yet the price of tin has fallen 80 cents a box, which means that during the last twelve months the laborers have received about 15 cents a box in higher wages and the consumers 80 cents in lower prices. This is surely another instance where the tariff "ties the hands of the consumer while the trust picks his pocket."

The next case of robbery by trust and tariff to which Mr. Holt devoted himself was the window-glass industry. He said:

"The window-glass trust is one of our most interesting and instructive tariff trusts. . . . The glass trusts, with their glass clubs, hold up the American consumer and make him pay \$2 for \$1 worth of glass. The labor unions, with their alien contract labor laws and stringent apprenticeship rules, hold up the manufacturers and succeed in getting about 25 cents out of every extra tariff dollar wrung from consumers."

So in this instance the tariff "ties the hands of the consumer while the trust picks his pocket," and the labor laws tie the hands of the manufacturer while the laborer picks his pocket. With so much pocket-picking going on the wonder is they are not all in jail. As in the case of steel rails and tin plate, the best answer to Mr. Holt's charge will be found in the movement of prices here and abroad. The unit for price quotations abroad for window glass is the pound; in this country it is boxes of 50 square feet. So, to make the comparison easier, we have reduced the American product to pounds on the basis of 52 pounds to the box, which is the standard weight. The following table shows the average prices of domestic and foreign window glass in five year periods from 1880 to 1890:

	American.	Foreign.
1880 (pounds)	\$.058	\$.032
1885 " . . . . .	.076	.028
1890 " . . . . .	.037	.03
1895 " . . . . .	.	.02
1900 " . . . . .	.044	.0328
	Decrease	Increase
	24 per cent.	2½ per cent.

It will be seen that during this period the price of American glass had fallen 24 per cent. while the foreign glass had risen 2½ per cent., and during this time the glass industry has been largely developed in this country under a high protective duty and wages been paid

more than double those of glass workers abroad. The glass "trust," so-called, was formed August 2nd, 1899, and just in the midst of a period of advances in wages and prices of raw materials, which prevailed throughout all industries. The price of domestic and foreign glass from October 1899 to March 1901 was as follows:

	American.	Foreign.
1899 (last 3 mos.)	\$.049	\$.0296
All of 1900 . . . . .	.044	.0328
1901 (1st 3 mos.) . . . . .	.057	.036

Per cent. of increase, 1901 over 1899, 6 per cent. 22 per cent.

It will be seen that during this time there has been an increase in the price of glass, and that the increase of American glass has been 6 per cent. less than the increase in the price of foreign glass of the same quality. Both under the tariff before the trust, and under the tariff and the trust during the last eighteen months, the price of glass has fallen more and risen less here than under free trade in Europe. It is clear, therefore, so far as glass is concerned, that foreign consumers are "robbed" more than American consumers, notwithstanding that we have tariff, trust and nearly double wages.

Another instance of the tariff holding the consumer while the trust picks his pocket, cited by Mr. Holt, is wire nails. Language almost failed him in his description of the robbery of the American people by the tariff nail "trust." Here, again, the facts speak clearer if not louder than Mr. Holt's words. Wire nails were not made in commercial quantities in the United States until 1887. The following table, which gives the price of wire nails for every year since that date, speaks for itself:

1887 . . \$3.15	1892 . . \$1.70	1897 . . \$1.45
1888 . . 2.55	1893 . . 1.49	1898 . . 1.45
1889 . . 2.49	1894 . . 1.11	1899 . . 2.57
1890 . . 2.51	1895 . . 1.69	1900 . . 2.76
1891 . . 2.04	1896 . . 2.50	1901 . . 2.00
Decrease \$1.15		

It will be observed that from the first the price steadily tended downwards, except in 1895 and 1896 and again in 1899 and 1900. The rise in 1899 and 1900 was not due to the so-called "trust," for the American Steel and Wire Company did not become a part of the all-inclusive steel corporation until May, 1901. It was not due to the tariff, because the tariff had been operating all the time from 1897. Indeed, in 1894 the tariff was heavily reduced by the Wilson law, yet the price of wire nails rose to \$1.69 in 1895 and \$2.50 in 1896. The rise in 1899-1900 was due to the same extraordinary causes as the rise in the price of tin plate and steel rails and everything else that was made of iron and steel, which nearly doubled in price during 1899, while labor in the iron and steel industries rose about 24 per cent. But prices are again declining, being less by about 76 cents a box for wire nails than they were in 1900.

CHILD LABOR LEGISLATION IN THE SOUTH

LEONORA BECK ELLIS

But for the strenuous resistance of the members of our federal union to any invasion of states' rights and any pronounced phase of paternalism, national legislation might long ago have protected the little children of this country from all forms of labor tending to weaken or degrade them in body, mind or spirit. As it is, each individual commonwealth has had to climb by slow and difficult steps into its own salvation from the evil, and more than half the states are still without the necessary protective statutes.

The south Atlantic and gulf states are now in the throes of this profoundly needed reformation, and the end is not yet. Year after year for the last half decade bills for the prohibition of child labor in cotton factories and similar work places have come up before the general assemblies of North and South Carolina, Georgia and Alabama, and one by one such bills have died, usually in quiet, sometimes still-born.

But it was not so during the sessions of the past winter and spring. The bills were again uniformly lost, it is true, but lost in each case after a struggle that indicated the awakening of a spirit undoubtedly destined to bring victory in the near future. The most hopeful sign was in Tennessee, which, though not strictly within the cotton belt, is yet usually accounted of the sisterhood, being one with them in traditions, polity and social issues, as it is closely akin in industrial interests. Here the act of 1893, which made it unlawful to employ children under twelve years of age in any workshop, mill, factory or mine, was displaced by the enactment of a law raising the age for such employees to fourteen

years. To those who boasted of the Tennessee victory in order to help on the contest in the four states previously mentioned, the opposition made answer that Tennessee could easily afford such measures since she had no cotton manufacturing interests to be damaged and retarded by the decrease of available labor. But the reply was fully adequate. Look at the new coal mines added from month to month to her lists; look at her increasing machine shops, her growing woollen mills, those at Knoxville being the most extensive of their kind on this side of the Atlantic. In view of such facts, the triumph in Tennessee becomes indeed deeply significant.

In the late autumn of 1900 the fight was again on in Alabama. But the first bill to restrict the labor of children was stifled in the committee room, as had been done in five preceding sessions of the Alabama legislature. Up to this time public interest in the matter had been small, for reasons which will become manifest further on in the present article. But the American federation of labor, wisely recognizing that the issue here was of more immediate moment than even higher wages and shorter hours, since tending ultimately to promote both these in addition to the dearer vital principle involved, suddenly concentrated its strongest forces upon this point. The federation has never conducted an abler or worthier contest than its anti-child labor campaign in Alabama from December, 1900, to May, 1901; and the end, though not yet achieved, can be foretold with little uncertainty. President Gompers was fortunate in securing at this point the cooperation of Miss Irene Ashby, an Englishwoman of great breadth of intelligence and sincerity of purpose, who had coped with the social problems of the toilers in her own country and was fully cognizant of the new intricacies springing from new conditions here.

Miss Ashby was no sooner on the ground than she recognized as chief among the difficulties of the situation the absence of reliable statistical information regarding the operatives in the new cotton mills of the state (and practically all of Alabama's cotton factories are new), and consequent upon this the absence of any general interest in their welfare outside of the immediate ranks of labor. She overcame the difficulty by devoting several weeks to a tour of the mills and a personal investigation of conditions among the operatives, with special reference to the matter of child labor. In January of the present year she returned to the capital city, Montgomery, armed with facts and figures that aroused public interest as it had not been aroused before.

To those acquainted with the industrial revolutions of other countries and sections, and the evil that goes hand in hand with good in the early stages of such revolutions, Miss Ashby's data offered nothing startling; but the people of Alabama in general had not previously taken cognizance of the appalling growth of this child-labor evil in their midst, and they were not slow to be stirred to the necessity of some action to check that which tended to rob their commonwealth of its honor as well as its strength. That there should be nearly 12,000 operatives engaged in textile industries which dated back less than a dozen years was a source of pride; but that 6 per cent. of these operatives should be children under twelve years of age was a matter to arouse the gravest apprehensions. For the first time in this state, in which the traditions of the old aristocratic regime have not been wholly outgrown, public sentiment, through such recognized exponents as the press, the platform and the pulpit, as well as through women's clubs and other organizations, was ready to array itself with the body of organized labor.

But the time was short and the corporations were mighty. The Alabama legislature reconvened January 29th, and there began immediately a stout conflict for the passage of two bills. The first was a bill to regulate child labor and contained the following provisions:

"*Section 1.* Be it enacted by the general assembly of Alabama that no child under the age of twelve (12) years shall be employed at labor in or about any factory or manufacturing establishment or printing office (except as carriers of newspapers) within this state unless a widowed mother or totally disabled father is dependent upon the labor of such child and has no other means of support. No child under the age of ten (10) years shall be so employed under any circumstances.

"*Section 2.* Be it further enacted, That it shall be unlawful for any factory or manufacturing establishment to hire or employ any child unless there is first provided and placed on file in the office of such employer an affidavit signed by the parent or guardian or person standing in parental relation thereto, certifying the age and date of birth of said child; any person knowingly furnishing a false certificate of the age of such child shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor, and shall be brought before a magistrate or justice of the peace for trial, and upon conviction shall be punished by a fine of not less than five nor more than one hundred dollars or be sentenced to hard labor to a term not exceeding three months.

"*Section 3.* Be it further enacted, That no child under the age of sixteen (16) shall be employed at labor or detained in any factory or manufacturing establishment in this state between the hours of 7 p. m. and 6 a. m., or for more than sixty (60) hours in any one week or more than eleven (11) hours in any one day.

"*Section 4.* Be it further enacted, That no child shall be employed at labor in or about any factory or manufacturing establishment unless he or she can read and write his or her name and simple sentences in the English language. Provided, that the provisions set forth in said section 4 of this act shall not go into force and effect until the 1st day of March, 1902.

"*Section 5.* Be it further enacted, That no child between the ages of twelve (12) and fourteen (14) years shall be employed at labor in or about any factory or manufacturing establishment unless he or she attends school for at least twelve weeks of each year, the year to be counted from the twelfth birthday of the child, six weeks of said schooling to be consecutive; and at the end of every such year a certificate to that effect signed by the teacher of said school must be produced by the parent or person standing in parental relation to said child and filed by the manufacturer in whose employ said child may be engaged. All such certificates shall be subject to such inspection.

"*Section 5.* Be it further enacted, That any person who violates

any of the provisions of this act, or who suffers or permits any child to be employed in violation of its provisions, shall be deemed guilty of a misdemeanor and on conviction shall be punished by a fine of not more than \$500."

The twin bill was to secure that which normally accompanies the prohibition of child labor, namely, compulsory education. Both bills were gallantly supported, and the claim seems reasonably sustained that they were merely lobbied out of existence. That such a storm of public disapprobation followed their overthrow speaks volumes for the ultimate outcome of the issue, which will undoubtedly be revived on the opening of the next legislative session.

It is not feasible in a single article to follow in such detail the course of the movement in Georgia and in the Carolinas. The general trend has been the same, and the variations have sprung from the degree of development of the textile industry in each state and the strength of the interests bound up in it, rather than from the temper of the citizens or the character of their legislative tendencies. In these states, respectively, there are many more mills than in Alabama, each one having from 35,000 to 60,000 operatives now in the factories. The proportion of child workers among these averages from 6 to 8 per cent. Bills similar to those offered in Alabama came up before each of these legislatures last winter, and, though defeated, showed in every case an astonishing gain in strength of support since the previous season. In Georgia especially, public sentiment was so strong in favor of the child-labor measure that its friends felt over-secure, and in consequence did not sufficiently estimate the political resources controlled by the mill corporations. But a carefully organized effort is now under way to make ready to meet this danger next November.

It is believed that the bill would have been passed

by the North Carolina legislature but for two things. The first was the latest report of the labor commissioner of the state, showing a 50 per cent. decrease in child labor in the state's textile factories, while the labor of men had increased 100 per cent. Such indubitable figures argued the natural decay of the evil and seemed to point to early elimination. But the second and more potent weapon with which the opposition fought the bill was a concession made by the cotton manufacturers themselves. One hundred of the most prominent mill men in the state petitioned the legislature not to pass any labor laws during the current session, imputing as a basis of their request the outworn argument of the damage that would be done to the state's infant industry in driving available labor into other sections untrammelled by class legislation. In consideration of the granting of this request, they agreed, as concerned child labor, that no children less than twelve years old should work in the mills during the term of an available public school, excepting always the children of widows or physically disabled parents, and adding the further provision that no children under ten years should be worked under any circumstances.

It was something positive gained, and many advocates of the more stringent measure accepted the temporary substitute. But this will scarcely stand a long test. Numbers of manufacturers in North Carolina, as in Georgia and South Carolina, have personally assured the writer that they themselves feel the need, for their mills and their machinery, of protection from the unskilled labor of children, and many base their sole opposition to the prohibitive bills upon the fact that they themselves will lose unless adjacent states shall simultaneously pass the enactment. Such a consummation now seems the promise of the near future, and

interest in the outcome of next winter's assemblies is very great.

When the earliest movement was made in New England for the enactment of similar protective laws, the south Atlantic and gulf states felt no closer interest in the measure than in those preceding it in Great Britain and Russia. Such statutory enactments were for the protection of a class practically unknown within the borders of the southern group of states. Consequently, the excitement, the strife, the earnest argument and heated answer, in connection with a contest which was close fought at every step, found no immediate echo here. Nearer issues were engrossing a section that was then wholly dependent upon its agricultural resources and labor.

A few decades have passed, and conditions have changed as it would have been impossible for them to change in an older land or an earlier century. Prostrate from the civil war, the thousands of lives and billions of dollars her people lost on its battlefields and through its issues, the South yet struggled to her feet and endeavored to reconstruct a labor system and an industrial scheme that would still support her sons by her one developed resource, agriculture. The failure of such effort was predetermined. Not even the widest diversification of agricultural products, if unsupplemented by any other development, could have restored this region to prosperity; and such diversification could never be attained in the course of merely one or two generations in a section tutored by tradition into comparative disregard of everything save its vast fields of cotton.

Manufacturing used as an adjunct to agriculture was to prove the saving grace in this wide and naturally rich region, and most especially the manufacture of its one great staple. Even prior to 1870, a few

widely scattered cotton mills had appeared in Georgia and the Carolinas, and in the decade following the number was greatly increased. The census of 1880 gave the entire cotton belt 164 mills, 12,329 looms, and 561,360 spindles. Yet even with such a showing few were prepared for the amazing growth this industry has exhibited in the last five years. The census of 1900 allowed 5,815,429 spindles in the South; but each month since those figures were gathered has seen this number substantially increased, until the claim of the trade journals to 7,000,000 spindles operating to-day in the cotton states is readily conceded.

A thoughtful man will review these facts and figures carefully before he feels himself prepared to comprehend the present status of the agitation for child-labor laws in the South. Once grasping the full meaning of such statistics, he will never again be of those who disdainfully assert that this section is behind in meeting and adjusting the matter of child labor in factories only because she is always backward in setting up high standards of civic virtue and protection; that the southern press and people are at so late a day painfully threshing over the long accepted and trite arguments for this movement only because they do not keep pace with the rest of the civilized world in moral perceptions and intelligence. He will, on the contrary, recognize the adequacy of other causes that led to this tardiness in arriving at a point reached much earlier by nations driven to it by earlier evils. He will perceive clearly that since manufacturing came so tardily to the South, and came also bringing the first relief to long and frightful poverty, it was only natural for the social problems peculiar to this phase of productive activity to be at first overlooked or ignored, and next rejected with impatience lest their solution interfere with the onward sweep of the heartily welcomed industry.

Through the recognition of such facts one arrives at the true explanation of that singular phenomenon among the sociological phases of the day,—the American federation of labor fighting in this section almost single handed, for five or more years at the close of an age so advanced, its losing struggle for child-labor legislation! Help of any sort from the outside was scant and ineffectual. The causes operating to produce such a state of things were complex; but at last analysis the kernel of the trouble is found to lie, as hitherto indicated, in the fact that the southern people themselves, unused to this class of labor, had not become adjusted to their own obligations and responsibilities in connection with such a class, and that the matter was too delicate and complicated, too akin indeed to a purely family question, for help from other sections, even from the pulpit and press of neighboring states, to prove efficacious.

But the worst is clearly over. The press and people of the cotton belt are at last arrayed with the federation, and the strength of the movement makes itself felt from the Carolina coast to the new mills of Texas. Capital and powerful manufacturing interests, both those native and those lately drawn hither in great volume by natural advantages, may prove strong enough to delay the consummation somewhat in one or more states; but even such might cannot long stand against that first instinct of humanity towards the protection of little children.

THE RAILROADS AND THE POST-OFFICE DEFICIT

STANLEY WASHBURN

Since the year 1885 when the postage on second-class mail was reduced there has been a deficit in the post-office department, which seems to be on the increase. At the close of the last fiscal year congress was asked to appropriate considerably more than ten millions of dollars on this account. That there was some flaw in the mail scheme seemed to be the natural conclusion. It has been claimed by many persons that the so-called exorbitant rate which the railroads charge for transportation of the mails is the cause of this deficit.

The United States government pays the railroads in two ways for its services:

First. By paying so much per mile per annum for every mile operated by the line. Roads handling 200 pounds daily are allowed \$50 per mile. Those handling 200 to 500 pounds daily receive \$75, and so on.

Second. Roads that handle such quantities of mail matter that separate cars are required receive a bonus or rental for those cars in addition to their mileage pay, varying according to size of cars. Thus a 40-foot car rents at \$25 per daily line, etc., a 45-foot car at \$30 per daily line, etc.

Schedule of Rates for Railway Mail Transportation.

				Pay per mile per annum.
200	pounds	.	.	\$ 50
200	"	to	500 pounds	75
500	"	to	1,000 "	100
1,000	"	to	1,500 "	125
1,500	"	to	2,000 "	150
2,000	"	to	3,500 "	175
3,500	"	to	5,000 "	200
For every additional 2,000 pounds over 5,000 pounds				25

Rates Allowable per Mile, per Annum, for Use of Railway Post-Office Cars when Authorized.

R. P. O. cars,	40 feet	\$25 per daily line
"	45 "	30 " "
"	50 "	40 " "
"	55-60 "	50 " "

To constitute a "line" of railway post-office cars between given points, sufficient mail cars must be provided and run to make a trip daily each way between those points.

Now it is true that the railroads handling mail under the mileage provisions only are making profits. Such roads carry the mail either in a baggage or combination car on their regular trains. In many cases the conductor or brakeman looks after the safety of the few mail bags, and hence no special employee is necessary. Therefore what money such roads receive is practically all profit. But a casual glance is sufficient to show that only a comparatively small portion of the mail matter is handled in this way. The great bulk of mail carried is along trunk lines between great cities, and in these cases the special mail cars are required and frequently special mail trains.

The criticiser says: Here the government is paying to the railroads five or six thousand dollars a year in rental for cars which can be constructed for four or five thousand dollars. The conclusion is that the railroads are making a great profit off the government. At first sight this seems true, but a little closer investigation shows us that the railroads must receive a bonus above mere mileage or else be unable to meet expenses. Few persons are aware of the cost and inconvenience put upon the railroad in operating fast mail trains.

In the first place, by the government provisions the railroads are obliged to carry mail on their fastest trains if the government so desires. Hence it is that the spe-

cial mail trains are usually the fastest trains on the road. The operation of these extra fast trains involves great cost for the following reasons:

First. The first increase in expenditure upon augmenting the speed is in the noticeable increase of fuel. It is estimated that in doubling the speed (say from 30 to 60 miles per hour) the actual consumption of coal is increased 50 per cent. per mile, due to the uneconomical rate of combustion, and increased 62 per cent. due to increased resistance. By combining these two increases we find a total increase of about 140 per cent. in the amount of coal per mile, just on account of doubling the speed: or, in other words, when we double the speed we burn about $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as much coal in the same distance. It is frequently necessary on fast runs to have coal specially picked for the high-speed engines.

Second. There is a higher grade of equipment, material and service required on extra fast trains. In extra fast service no expense one may say is spared to prevent failure, delays or accidents. On every branch of the railroad from the top down, special attention is required and given to prevent any delay to the limited or fast mail trains. The best and most expensive engines and equipment are used. Even the waste which is put in the oil boxes of cars and engines is of special quality. Not only is there more expense in quality but in quantity. It is noticeably true that two to three times the amount of oil is used on fast trains.

Third. Increase of wear and tear on equipment and roadbed. That this is true is perhaps needless to say. One has but to take a glance at the performance of some of these fast engines to realize what the wear and tear must be. Engineer A. J. Sill of engine No. 219, which hauls one of the Chicago and Northwestern mail trains, says of his engine: "She makes 404 miles every other day. . . . I have made up 35 miles on this

mail run . . . which makes our time less than a mile per minute. I have timed her several times on the level with six heavy palace coaches. She will make a mile in $45\frac{7}{8}$ seconds with a mail train of four cars. Many miles are made in $30\frac{1}{2}$ seconds."

In regard to wear and tear on roadbed it is difficult to say just how much of an item this is. Mr. Delano, superintendent of motive power of the C. B. & Q., says as to the cost of maintaining the way where high-speed trains are operated and where they are not: "We have some divisions on our road (C. B. & Q.) where trains do not exceed 25 or 30 miles per hour and where a large volume of business is handled. We find the cost of maintenance of track very noticeably less than on other parts of the road where a few trains run at very high speed." It is usually true that the high-speed equipment is very heavy, and hence requires heavier rails, bridge timbers, etc., on the road. That the strain upon rails caused by high speed is enormous has been proven. A series of experiments on this subject shows that doubling the speed more than doubles the straining effect on rails.

Fourth. Inconvenience to railroads operating fast mail trains. The fact that the fast mail trains have right of way over all other trains is not one of the least sources of cost to railroads. Where a vast freight business is being done much time and hence money is lost by the necessity of other trains taking the siding to let the fast mail pass. While the train is on the siding fuel is being consumed without any return. When it pulls out it is necessary to burn additional fuel in order to make up for the lost time.

Fifth. Danger of accident resulting from high speed. Of course, danger is increased by an increase of speed. It has been said that the effect of a collision is in proportion to the square of the velocity.

Sixth. Special equipment. The railroads also have special equipment for their mail service which is of no use in any other department. The cost of maintaining this equipment falls upon the railroad. Thus all the mail cars are filled with latest devices of all kinds. Note for instance the mail-catching device and other patented fittings of these cars. They are also furnished with many lights which burn at the expense of the railroad company.

The points shown above give the main elements of cost to the railroads in operating fast mails. But there are many inconveniences which are not and cannot be measured in dollars and cents. For instance, the government requires the mail cars to be set out on the siding some hours before the departure of mail trains. This means usually a whole track in a crowded depot given up to the mail cars in the busiest time of day.

One reason why the mail is not more profitable to the railroads is because there is so much dead space. There are nineteen tons of car handled to one ton of mail. The reason for this is that much of the space is allotted to the sorting racks.

Now-a-days the mail cars are not only cars for transportation of the mails but fulfil the use of a sub-post-office as well. Much of this work, which was of old done at the receiving post-office, is now done on these trains: for example, the mail coming to the city of Chicago is sorted in the mail car into 187 different packages destined to the various divisions of the city. Were it not for this, the same work would have to be done in an office in the central part of the city which would of course have to be rented by the government. In a large city such as Chicago it is easy to see that the additional rent which would be required to hire such buildings would be enormous.

It is interesting to compare the railroad earnings

accruing to a well-known railroad from its different departments. On freight traffic a net earning of .21 of a cent was shown, the expenses absorbing 58 per cent. of amount of earnings. Passenger traffic earned .88 of a cent per ton mile. The expenses were .65 of a cent and the net earnings .23 of a cent per ton mile. Express showed a net of .6 of a cent per ton mile. With the mail the earnings amounted to .63 of a cent, the expenses were .65 of a cent and the deficit .02 of a cent,—the expenses being 3 per cent. greater than the earnings. The explanation is that nineteen tons of dead weight were carried for each ton of paying weight. If it were possible to handle mail as a commodity it might pay. A well-known railroad man says:

"We cannot handle the mail as a commodity. The department, for the benefit of the public, prescribes the most expensive manner of handling it, and the public is given the very best of service. With freight we can make our own rules. We can load cars to the limit of their capacity, and we can hold them back a little and put them in trains where the locomotives are worked up to the limit of their capacity. Indeed, we have been studying nothing else for the past three years but how to operate our roads with the greatest economy, and we have succeeded, in the face of the general fall in rates, in keeping the properties going through economical methods of operation. Day after day the public, and the department representing the public, is more and more exacting, and the expense to us of conducting that service is increasing instead of diminishing. There is no way by which we can reduce the cost of the service, because the facilities are continually being increased."

The facts already stated we believe are sufficient to show that the railroads are not making any enormous profit. It must also be remembered that delays

in the transmission of mails are heavily fined by the government, thus reducing in a measure such profits as do accrue.

It has been said that comparatively few railroads operate solid mail trains. In refutation of these statements I will mention the following with which I happen to be familiar:—the fast mail on the New York Central, the through mail on the Pennsylvania railroad, fast mail on the Chicago, Milwaukee and St. Paul, through mail trains on the C. B. & Q. which run from Chicago to the coast; and on the North Western. These last two trains are probably the most notable of any in the country. The average speed I believe over the plains is about 50 miles an hour and in many places runs up to 70 and 80 miles on schedule time.

The vast difference between the mail service and the passenger is well illustrated by the following fact: One of the Pacific railroads hauls a combination train, mail and passenger, over the mountains. When the level country is reached the mail cars are cut off and sent on ahead. A passenger leaving the coast may mail a letter in one of these cars on his own train, and by the time he has reached Chicago he will find that the letter has already gone through the Chicago post-office, been delivered and is waiting for him at his hotel.

There are many persons who believe the real cause of the deficit to be, very largely, the abuse observable in the second-class mail matter. Much bulky material, such as large volumes published under the name of circulating libraries, fake catalogues, mammoth sample copies and various matter of this character are crowded into this class. However, a discussion of this subject is not in place here. The object of this article is not to locate the cause of the deficit but to show that it is not due to exorbitant charges by the railroads for transportation of mail.

MORTGAGED NATIONS

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH

The breaking-up of a country through the invasion of an armed host always had its picturesque and dramatic features which inspired historians to recount the deeds of valor and heroism of the last expiring defenders; but, in the modern disintegration of nations through the more civilized method of pawning their possessions piecemeal to postpone the inevitable end, there is lacking all elements of spectacular show. The man who gradually loses all of his property and sinks into bankruptcy by degrees attracts far less attention than the hero who expires on the battlefield in defence of his home and country. The historic tragedy of Greece yielding to the superior military power of Rome, the death struggles around the embattled walls of Troy, and even the invasion of Rome itself by the hordes of barbarians of the North, appeal far more to our imagination than the gradual disintegration of China, the decay of the Ottoman empire, the pawning of Persia to Great Britain and Russia, or the degeneration, financially and commercially, of Portugal, Spain, and many another nation.

Since the world began there has been going on a redistribution of power over the surface of the earth. From the cradle of mankind on the plains of Asia to the islands and continents beyond the seas, the struggle for supremacy has marked the tragedies of history, and after circling the globe the final conflict seems likely to be waged on the soil that was first watered with the blood of ancient hosts of pagans and Christians. In method only has this struggle for power and dominion changed through the ages of darkness and of modern enlightenment.

As the world stands to-day the fall of nations is through internal decay and disintegration rather than from the invasion of armed enemies. The mightiest empires of the past, whose legions once ruled a good part of the world, are falling into bankruptcy which must inevitably end their existence as independent countries. Never was the power of money in the world better illustrated than in the pawning and selling of these nations, many of which are so deeply indebted to others that they are virtually owned by them. The game of international politics is played on a chess-board, with stocks and bonds and railroad shares and mining concessions as knights and pawns. The weak nation is bound to lose in the end, and the shrewd manipulators who proffer additional capital to help it to prolong the game reap their rewards in golden harvests.

China is the most important nation on the chess-board to-day, and her enemies have been eager to claim indemnity on slight occasions. Prior to 1874 China had no foreign debt, and her people were comparatively happy in their own way, content to live the life that their ancestors had lived before them a thousand years or more. Internal decay was not the cause of her break-up so much as contact with western civilization. No war was declared against her, but a rivalry for possession of some of her land sprang up in Europe. Under the guise of helping her as a friend, France, Germany, Great Britain and Russia proffered her loans, and China accepted the tempting bait that was dangled so closely before her. From 1874 to the beginning of the Japanese war she had negotiated six loans, aggregating about \$45,000,000, and to pay the war indemnity to Japan of \$160,000,000 (and \$24,000,000 for the return of Liao-Tung peninsula) she had to raise more money among the

European nations. Russian and French capitalists showed their ready disposition to loan her money, taking as security whole provinces and ports. In 1897-98 China had to go into the money markets of the world and negotiate another loan of \$80,000,000. There was a fierce rivalry between Russia, England, Germany and France to advance the money, for each nation felt that the successful one would have a controlling voice in the political and commercial affairs of the country. The loan was raised by Great Britain, and the other European powers have ever since used this as a pretext for grabbing more land to counterbalance British power in the Orient.

China unfortunately has an ignorant population who fail to realize the game that Europe has been playing to absorb their country. Their hatred of foreigners leads them into open riot, but for every mission they destroy and every foreigner they kill a big price is paid by the Chinese government. Germany demanded large railroad concessions and grants of land for the killing of German missionaries or traders. Russia secured Port Arthur on a ninety-nine years' agreement, and Great Britain got Wei-Hai-Wei and concessions at Hong-Kong. Every little outbreak along the coast or in the interior was a fresh cause for bleeding China, and so the partitioning of the empire has gone on apace. China loses more of her land through inability to pay indemnities than she pawns for actual cash.

But there is a good deal of China. Her 4,000,000 square miles, with an approximate population of 400,000,000, form a world by itself, and the potentialities of the empire are so great that the greed and cupidity of Europe are aroused. But, immense as the country is and magnificent as its commercial possibilities may seem, it will not be a matter of a decade before the greater part of the domain will be in pawn. She is

proverbially hard up for money, and the pawning of new possessions cannot go on apace without bringing an end to the empire. It is the civilized method of breaking up and conquering a weaker country, and inasmuch as it is legalized there is no protest to be made.

The absorption of Persia by Russia and Great Britain is another concrete illustration of the new method of invasion of one country by a more powerful empire. Persia is practically a bankrupt nation to-day, and is owned part and parcel by Russia and Great Britain. She has raised loans time and again from the two powers, and to-day mortgages cover her railroads and chief industries. England first obtained concessions there for building railroads and telegraph lines for nominal rents, and then when Persia was hard up for funds money was advanced her without any security other than the roads. From one loan to another she drifted, and then Russia entered the market and endeavored to increase Persia's debt. The struggle between England and Russia to obtain concessions from the Persian government has time and again caused friction that threatened trouble. Persia good naturedly accepted the situation, and borrowed largely from both, spent the money, and soon returned for more. The end of her resources may not yet be in sight, but she has practically delivered over half her empire to Russia and the other half to England. The result is that Persia is hardly an independent country. She cannot make a move in the game of politics without consulting her owners, and if she attempted it one or the other would block the move. Her only power is in setting her two European owners at each other's throats, and her experience shows that it is much better to have two masters rather than one.

England almost owns and controls Portugal, al-

though for various reasons the latter kept Great Britain from asserting the rights it possessed in Delagoa Bay during the South African war. During the dispute between England and Germany a few years ago about their South African possessions, Portugal announced that it would preserve strict neutrality and not permit either nation to land troops at Delagoa bay nor to march them across Portuguese South Africa. In 1895 Portugal's debt amounted to \$742,450,570, and the interest on it was \$18,150,000 per annum. In 1897 the cabinet resigned because they were unable to grapple with the economic and financial problems, and the new cabinets have not been much more successful. Although a rich and fertile country, Portugal has not been able to support herself, and she has mortgaged her industries to foreign governments until she is nearly as much in pawn as Persia. England, before the war with the Boers, had tried to negotiate for Delagoa bay, and had she been successful in time it would have shortened the South African campaign. Portugal would have gladly pledged this port for money that was much needed, but the other European powers, realizing the importance of the port, refused to consent to the agreement. It may be that England will get the port yet, for Portugal is chronically hard up, and when in need of money her cabinet seems willing to pledge almost anything to raise it. That is probably the easiest way out of a difficulty. It is much like a man pawning his possessions at a high rate of interest to secure a loan he intends to pay off soon, but which seems to increase so that he is never quite able to do it. Portugal has a favorable situation for development, and should be able to redeem herself from pawn, but the seeds of decay seem to be planted in her and she recedes rather than advances each year.

Turkey is the problem of Europe, and at the same

time the most puzzling of nations in pawn. The whole continent of Europe holds her pledges and securities, but it is a much more difficult matter to redeem these than in the case of China for instance. Turkey is willing to pledge anything for money, and then the holders of the securities find it a difficult matter to collect interest or principal. She is the only nation in pawn that has proved a Tartar. Half a dozen European nations have regretted accepting her pledges, and yet they stand ready to-day to increase their financial load for fear some rival power will step in and take advantage of their apathy. Turkey is always hard up, and it will pledge anything for a loan, but it leaves it with the powers to collect on the loan. When the country first went bankrupt years ago it raised over \$200,000,000 in Europe, and pledged territory as security. This money was soon spent, and investors who had failed to realize anything from the land grants did not like to advance more funds on such unsubstantial security. Then Turkey offered to pledge her tobacco, opium, and liquor duties, and succeeded in this way in raising some \$600,000,000. The revenues from these articles are about the only collectable thing in Turkey, and the land concessions do not amount to much unless the owners of them are willing to land an army in the country to protect them. For the present Turkey is not likely to break up as China may do, even though she may be a bankrupt, for the reputation of her military strength is sufficient to deter Europeans from going to war with her. For the past decade Turkey has not been a favorite resort for money investments, and now that she has pledged most of her revenues she finds it a difficult task to raise further funds. The European money lenders find a more profitable field in the far East for putting out their capital with some assurances of adequate returns.

In South America the work of mortgaging and buying up nations proceeds with as much expedition as in the Orient, and a great many of the South American republics are owned by money lenders and capitalists. Concessions after concessions have been granted to corporations and foreign governments for loans advanced. Railroads, mining privileges, and revenues from nearly all taxable goods have been pledged. The ease with which money is squandered by the governments of the South American republics makes many of the smaller ones chronically hard up, and no sooner does one revolution dispose of a ministry and president than another movement to negotiate a new loan begins.

In many cases private corporations and capitalists have more to say in the government of the small South American republics than the presidents or their cabinets. Virtually owning everything of real value in the country, it is only natural that they should demand a controlling voice in the management of affairs that concern their interests. Thus the Argentine republic has practically been sold over to the auctioneer, and her finances are so involved that an expert could never straighten them out. The ministers do not attempt to do this; they are satisfied to raise more money by mortgaging other property and industries of the country if in need of funds for special purposes. Argentina owes over \$300,000,000, and every chance she gets it asks for new loans. Already her mines, railroads, and other natural resources are pledged, and it seems doubtful if anything valuable can be found to hand over as security for new loans. There is not much attempt to pay the interest on this debt, and the country is satisfied if the creditors content themselves with seizing a few more square miles of territory to call the matter even.

Bolivia owes a debt of over \$150,000,000, which

she contracted in the war with Chili and which she had to guarantee by handing over to the control of her enemy the best part of her seaboard. Chili exacts payment of the interest on this debt, and she stands ready to absorb her weaker neighbor upon confession of bankruptcy. Every few years there is a sort of panic in Bolivia because of the government's inability to raise the interest, and then efforts are made to negotiate a loan abroad. But no one cares to loan more money to Bolivia, and the little republic has to levy heavy taxes upon its people and sometimes disband its army to save money. Altogether her position in the council of South American nations is not reassuring or pleasant, but her people and government do not seem to worry unduly over the finances.

The worst part of this financial situation, in the weak nations mentioned, is that there is little prospect of improvement. If the loans were negotiated for internal improvements, which in time would relieve the countries of their burdens, there would be nothing unusual or disagreeable about them; but they are much like a man without a business who is steadily mortgaging his property for funds to live on. When the property has all been absorbed the ability to negotiate further loans will cease, and it is a question of starving to death or working as a laborer for another. When China, Turkey, Persia, and Bolivia have mortgaged all the land and natural resources they have, they must in time cease to be nations except in name only. That sad state of affairs has already been reached by some of them. Their financial disintegration is more insidious in its growth than the forces leading to moral or physical downfall.

EDUCATION FOR CITIZENSHIP

In the course of a very excellent article on "Social Sciences in Secondary Schools," Professor Edward Emory Hill, of the Hyde Park (Chicago) High School, undertakes to explain why the work done thus far in the public schools along these lines has been, relatively, so ineffective. By special permission we are able and glad to give here some of the results of Mr. Hill's investigations, as confirming the position we have long maintained, in favor of a wider extension of economic and social studies. Speaking of the extent to which these subjects are now taught, he says:

"In the last report of the United States commissioner of education is a list of the 'sixteen more important studies of our secondary schools,' with the number of pupils pursuing each study, and its percentage to the total number of pupils enrolled in these schools. Neither civil government nor political economy appear in this list. The fact that five of these 'more important studies' are taken, each, by less than five per cent. and two by less than four per cent. of the pupils enrolled in these schools, and that no mention is made anywhere in this report on secondary schools of the subjects that we are considering, is a silent commentary on the place that the social sciences have as yet found in the secondary schools of the United States that seems to have in it more of eloquence than of encouragement.

"But the situation is not quite so discouraging as it at first seems from an examination of this document. If we turn to the educational reports of the different states, we find that 215 out of the 244 high schools reported by Massachusetts offer a course in civil government and that 77 of those schools provide for some instruction in political economy. In New York state,

which has an enrollment in its high schools and academies of 66,342 pupils, 11,509 are reported as having taken an examination in civics and 3,012 in economics during the past year; while in North Dakota these subjects are said to be prescribed in the course of study for high schools by the state board. That these are very favorable examples must be admitted, but they serve to show that social sciences have received some recognition in our secondary schools.

"According to the reports received by the committee of ten on this subject from many different sections of the United States it appeared that political economy was taught in about five per cent. of the secondary schools of this country. The number of schools giving formal and specific instruction in civil government is without doubt considerably greater."

Prof. Hill then refers to the action of the board of regents of the state of New York, in submitting to the principals of high schools within the state nine courses of study arranged for schools having four years' work:

"In all of the nine courses we find elementary United States history and civics as one of the studies for the first semester of the first year; in four, civics as a separate subject during the second semester of the first year, and in two, economics as a study during the last half of the fourth year. These courses were arranged after a careful study of the working programs now in use in that state. If they may be taken as reflecting present conditions, this means that nearly all of the pupils in the secondary schools of New York receive a little incidental instruction in civics in connection with elementary United States history during the first twenty weeks of their high school course; that a few receive special instruction in this subject during the second twenty weeks of their high school course, and that dur-

ing the last semester of their high school career a still smaller number, those taking what are styled the law and commercial courses, can have five hours a week to browse in the field of industrial history and digest a few of the leading principles of political economy."

Coming to the character of the instruction in social sciences in our secondary schools, and speaking of the reasons for so much poor work and consequent slow development of these courses in the curriculum, Mr. Hill hits the nail squarely on the head:

" 'Charity,' it is said, 'shall cover the multitude of sins,' but by no possible stretch of her mantle could she hope to hide all the bad work that passes for instruction in civil government and political economy. This, however, is in no way the fault of the civics and economics teachers, for strictly speaking there are no such teachers, or very few at most, in our secondary schools. The teacher who attempts to give instruction in these subjects is nearly always the teacher of something else. The Latin teacher who may chance to have a spare hour can 'fill it in' by hearing the class in civil government. The mathematics teacher is supposed in some way to have absorbed a sufficient knowledge of the principles of political economy to be able to spend profitably what might otherwise be three or four vacant periods in the week in judiciously instructing a class in that subject. This situation follows necessarily from the fact that these subjects have found so small a place in the programs of the great majority of our schools.

"But even those teachers who are specially interested in these studies, and are fortunate enough to be able to devote the larger part of their time to them, are as yet far from being satisfied with their success. They feel that they are pioneers in a new field of pedagogy. They find themselves in the midst of a great amount of material from which they must select a little—that

which is likely to be of most value to their pupils as future citizens, and which at the same time is best adapted to the needs of their present stage of development. The difficulty of this problem can be appreciated only by those who have attempted to solve it. Many text-books—some of them excellent in a way—have been written on these subjects, it is true, but their writers have shown the same confusion in their selection of the subject-matter that has characterized the work of the teachers. One gives so much space to national government that he has no time left for local institutions. Another becomes so much absorbed in local government that he seems to forget that he is also a citizen of a great nation. Some have plunged into the history and philosophy of our social organisms. Others have contented themselves with a bare description of the machinery of our various governments. In the field of political economy the text-book situation has been even worse. With one or two very poor exceptions, the only text-books on this subject that have been on the market for use in secondary schools were spoiled abridgments of works prepared primarily for colleges. It is only recently that a desire to produce text-books on political economy suited to the needs of the secondary schools seems to have become epidemic among students of economics. Within the last two or three years several very creditable works have appeared. They are full of encouragement to those who believe that political economy should receive a respectful attention in our high school programs. They are not only the substance in part of things hoped for, but also, we trust, the evidence of things not yet seen."

Summing up the situation, it is found that "in the United States formal teaching of the social sciences has not as yet found a very important place in the work of the secondary schools; that they are taught in a com-

paratively small number of these schools, and that in the schools where they are made subjects of instruction they are usually elective studies, taken by only a small number of pupils, and receiving little time and attention. In the second place, we have found that the character of the instruction in these subjects is for the most part very poor; that not many of the teachers who are compelled to 'hear classes' in these branches are interested in them or know much about them, and that the few instructors who have devoted themselves with zeal to this line of work labor under serious disadvantages."

This is not good ground for discouragement, however. "The movement in this country to push the study of the social sciences down into the secondary and elementary schools is still in its infancy. We believe, too, that it is a healthy, growing infancy. As encouragement for this belief, we find that each year an increasing number of schools are introducing them into their programs, and that other schools are giving them a larger place in their curriculums; that their importance is being emphasized by frequent discussions in teachers' conventions, in educational journals and in the public press; that their study is being made compulsory in some of our best normal schools, and that the colleges and universities of our country which have formerly assumed an attitude not only of indifference but of antagonism toward their introduction into the public schools are now swinging into line, not only giving them some recognition as preparatory work, but also strengthening their own courses in these departments with a view of sending forth better equipped teachers into this field."

Prof. Hill is by no means alone in his progressive view of this situation. President J. M. Green, of the National Educational Association, has written to us

recently on the matter, declaring emphatically that: "It is the feeling of the executive committee that this subject has been too little considered in proportion to its importance in the great common-school system, and that there is a teaching adapted to the common schools and that will serve as a key to the common problems of economic life."

A letter from Hon. Andrew D. White, ambassador to Germany and former president of Cornell University, emphasizes the same view. "Recent events," says Dr. White, "show that the popularization of economic science in our country is one of the main needs of our people."

Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler, one of the foremost educators in the country, in his able work, "The Meaning of Education," discusses this subject at some length. "The first question," he says, "to be asked of any course of study is: Does it lead to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization? If not, it is neither efficient nor liberal.

"In society as it exists to-day the dominant note, running through all of our struggles and problems, is economic,—what the old Greeks might have called political. Yet it is a constant fight to get any proper teaching from the economic and social point of view put before high-school and college students. They are considered too young or too immature to study such recondite subjects, although the nice distinctions between the Greek moods and tenses and the principles of conic sections, with their appeal to the highly trained mathematical imagination, are their daily food. As a result, thousands of young men and young women who have neither the time, the money, nor the desire for a university career, are sent forth from the schools either in profound ignorance of the economic basis of modern society, or with only the most superficial and

misleading knowledge of it. The indefensibility of this policy, even from the most practical point of view, is apparent when we bear in mind that in this country we are in the habit of submitting questions, primarily economic in character, every two or four years to the judgment and votes of what is substantially an untutored mob. If practical politics only dealt with chemistry as well as with economics, we could, by the same short and easy method, come to some definite and authoritative conclusion concerning the atomic theory and learn the real facts regarding helium. But since the economic facts, and not the chemical or linguistic facts, are the ones to be bound up most closely with our public and private life, they should, on that very account, be strongly represented in every curriculum. We can leave questions as to the undulatory theory of light and as to Grimm's and Verner's laws to the specialists; but we may not do the same thing with questions as to production and exchange, as to monetary policy and taxation. The course of study is not liberal, in this century, that does not recognize these facts and emphasize economics as it deserves. . . .

"There is no reason why many secondary schools, particularly public high schools, over 60 per cent. of whose graduates do not go on to a higher educational institution, should not give instruction in subjects such as logic, political economy, and trigonometry, which are contained in every college course. Unless this policy is adopted, the vast majority of American boys and girls will be deprived of all opportunity to come in contact with these studies and others like them."

Evidences are accumulating on every hand that at last we are coming to a proper appreciation of these studies, and the importance of including them in the public-school courses; first in the secondary schools much more largely than at present, and later, in sim-

plified form of course, in the higher grades of the grammar schools. It is a hopeful, encouraging movement, right in line with the whole modern tendency to make education count for practical life rather than for expertness in abstract speculation. The marvelous progress of industry and science means that men are coming into closer and more interdependent relations with each other; consequently, the practical problems with which education must deal are becoming less and less individual and more and more social in their character. In emphasizing this, we do not lose sight of the tendency toward specialization, in modern life. It is the other and indispensable side of concentration, but interdependence develops along with both, and no system of education which does not appreciate and embody in itself this irresistible movement can respond to the needs of the times, nor even retain its former balance, consistency and authority. Our educational system, in its further development, must include the economic and social sciences, otherwise it will fall apart like a string of beads when the connecting cord is worn out and no new one put in its place.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THROUGH THE aid of Platt and the indirect aid of the administration through the custom house, Tammany Hall is impudently confident of victory, which its organ, the *Tammany Times*, fittingly announces thus:

"When Richard Croker returns in August candidates having the interest of the people and the city at heart will be announced."

Can the equal of this be found outside of Philadelphia? "When Richard Croker returns! !" What more can New York citizens ask?

THE NEW YORK *Times* has a great faculty for discovering how we are being ruined by protection. The wonder is that we were not in bankruptcy long ago. Its latest discovery is that Mr. J. Pierpont Morgan paid \$2,500,000 for the "Mannheim collection of medieval works of art," with the patriotic intention of presenting it to the Metropolitan Museum in New York, but when he found that a duty was to be paid on this collection he became indignant and decided to give the collection to South Kensington Museum, London.

Mr. Morgan is neither ignorant enough nor absurd enough nor reckless enough nor free trader enough to make any such silly exhibition of himself. What is more, Mr. Morgan knows, if the *Times* does not, that there is *no duty* on art products imported for public institutions. This only shows to what lengths otherwise sensible people will go when they are ridden by a hobby.

THE DISTRICT RAILWAY COMPANY in London has finally accepted the proposition of Mr. Charles T. Yerkes of Chicago to introduce underground electricity as the motive power for surface railroads, and thus give

London the New York method of surface transportation. It must stagger Englishmen to see Yankee enterprise so outstrip English as to bring both the men and money of America to conduct public works in England. This is also having something of a chilling effect upon the faith of English observers in the infallibility of their free-trade doctrines. They have always taught that America could never compete with England so long as she kept protection. Their great fear of the Yankees "would only come when they adopted free trade." There are a few worshippers at that shrine in this country who have been harping on that for more than twenty years, and even now, when the impossible has been accomplished, they are repeating the same simple fallacy as if nothing had occurred.

THE REPUBLICAN-Tammany city government of Philadelphia has recently given the street railway companies of that city the right to occupy several hundred miles of the city streets without any return whatever to the municipality. To show how flagrant this giving away of public franchises is, Mr. John Wanamaker has offered the city \$2,500,000 for the franchises that have been given to the railway companies, and, as an evidence of good faith, has deposited \$250,000. Mr. Wanamaker's letter containing the offer was handed to the mayor during the public ceremonies dedicating the new United States mint. To show his contempt for the proposition, upon recognizing Mr. Wanamaker's writing, the mayor without opening the letter tossed it into the crowd surrounding the platform. This is probably a little more brazen than even Mayor Van Wyck would have been under similar circumstances. Is this a specimen of what New York might expect if it exchanged Croker for Platt? The republicans of Philadelphia can evidently give Tammany points.

SENATOR DEPEW is to be congratulated upon having the courage to "stand pat" against the flimsy, anti-third term fetich. The talk about the unwritten law against third terms is little short of silly. Washington declined a third term and Grant was refused one; that is all the tradition there is on the subject. It is a mere cry of hungry politicians who are anxious for rapid rotation in office. Mr. McKinley was shrewd in announcing that he would decline a third nomination, as it probably never would have been offered him, but it is not only absurd but distinctly bad policy to create a public sentiment tending to deprive the American people of the choice of a president three times if there is any public emergency that requires it. In the absence of such an emergency, it is quite safe to predict that a third term will not be given, but if the emergency for it should occur there should be no silly, superstitious barriers to prevent it. The unwritten as well as the written law of the United States is that the people shall elect whomsoever they choose for president, whether it is for a third or a thirteenth term.

THE NEW YORK *Times* is very properly indignant about what it calls "a surrender to the spoilsmen" by the president and Secretary Gage in removing Mr. William J. Gibson from the office of counsel before the board of appraisers, in order to make a place for Mr. A. H. Washburn of Boston. It says:

"Behind this act and leading up to it there is a story of relentless spoils hunting on the part of United States senators and of weak yielding to their demands and of abandonment of principle and betrayal of public pledges on the part of the president and Secretary Gage that is deeply discreditable and should cover them with shame."

This may all be true, yet it is not a circumstance to the shameful surrender on the part of both the president and Secretary Gage in the case of reappointing

Bidwell to the collectorship of the port of New York. The worst that can be said in the Gibson case is that a Cleveland democrat was removed to make room for an equally competent republican. But in the Bidwell case he was reappointed by the president and approval of the secretary, at the demand of Platt, with the full knowledge that he had used his office for corrupt political purposes. In this case the surrender of the president and secretary to the spoilsmen was to give office practically as a reward for political crime.

THE *Brooklyn Eagle* appears to think that the Brooklyn Rapid Transit Company is a victim of over-taxation by the franchise tax law. It says;

"It may not be generally known, but last year the company paid direct and indirect taxes to the state and to the city amounting to \$1,042,000. . . . The total was nearly 10 per cent. of the gross earnings of the company and three times the amount of the year's profits."

These facts prove nothing to the point, Taxation is simply a part of the expense of owning property. The only question is, does that amount represent an unfair assessment of the value of the property? What matter if it is three times or ten times the year's profit? The *Eagle* might as well protest against its wage bill being larger than its profits. Whether its tax bill is larger than its bill for raw material or larger than its pay roll, or larger than its profits, or ten per cent., or twenty per cent. of its gross earnings, is nothing to the point. Is the tax an unfair assessment upon the value of the property, is the only question that can properly be raised, and on that the *Eagle* says nothing. To paraphrase its own characterization of Senator Ford and Governor Roosevelt: "We do not want to call the *Brooklyn Eagle* a demagogue, but demagogues have reasoned very much as it does on the franchise-tax question."

RUSSIA IS ALWAYS either intriguing, bullying or retaliating. There has never been enough integrity and good faith in its statesmanship for anybody to trust her round the corner. A little while ago it was retaliating because it was treated like other people in relation to sugar. It now threatens retaliation if it cannot have a double advantage over everybody else on petroleum. Our tariff law has put petroleum on the free list, but it wisely provides that in case any other country puts a tariff on American petroleum the secretary of the treasury shall levy an equivalent duty on petroleum coming from that country. Russia puts a duty of about 200 per cent. on petroleum going from this country, and now, because the secretary of the treasury has applied the law and put a duty on Russian petroleum, Russia is pretending to be hurt and is going to retaliate by putting an exceptional duty on other American goods.

This country is ready for free trade in petroleum with every country in the world. We offer free trade in this market to petroleum of every country that will give free trade in petroleum in its market. Certainly nothing could be fairer. But this is not enough for Russia. It wants free trade for her petroleum here while imposing a prohibitory duty on our petroleum in Russia, and threatens to retaliate on all other American products if we do not give it. This is just about the right time to teach Russia that it cannot bully the United States the way it does China and the little countries on the continent.

OUR FREE-TRADE friends who are laboring under the impression that our protective policy prevents this country from competing with England and other foreign countries might do well to enlarge their horizon and lend an ear to what foreigners themselves say on

the subject. The London *Saturday Review* says, in an extended discussion of the subject:

"It is as childish to blame or be angry with the Americans for injuring us in trade as it is futile to pretend that they do not. The only sane thing to do is to acknowledge the fact, and resist them as well as we can. At present we do neither. . . . We have not taken trade scientifically as have the Americans, and we do not throw into it the same energy and concentration. In a sense we do not take it seriously."

Realizing this situation, the British Iron and Steel Institute invited Mr. Garrett, of Cleveland, Ohio, to deliver the principal address at its last annual meeting, and, in explaining why the "British iron masters" are falling behind in the competition with this country, Mr. Garrett said:

"I venture to assert that during the past ten years all the British iron and steel manufacturers together did not spend as much money in improvements as the Carnegies did in two years. Four of the best rod mills in Great Britain during January did not produce as many rods as one of the wire rod mills in the United States."

These facts, which were not questioned, gave a pauser to the English manufacturers. The real reason why the Carnegies spent more money in improvement in two years than all the British manufacturers did in ten was that the Carnegies had the greatest iron market in the world to produce for, and this market had been chiefly developed by a protective policy. In other words, the superiority of the Carnegies over their British competitors is due to the market opportunities protection has given them in this country. And yet Mr. Atkinson says protection retarded the development of iron and steel industries.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

War and Civilization

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Getting on to a plane of war morality may do to preach about and write books on, by non-combatants and such as deal in talk and stand away from harm on a moral eminence. If Funston violated any code of morals, who was the code's author? Diplomacy in words or acts is and always was used as a means for deception. More falsehood has been imposed upon the ungarded by diplomats than by any other spy system ever in use. The turning point in Funston's diplomacy or spy act, in the capture of Aguinaldo, was the treatment accorded the prisoners when under his humane power. All the Hague conferences and Oxford codes cannot pump ethics into war on a practical basis, for the reason that the material necessary to make a fighting man and an effective warrior is all against the theorists who can talk but not do, and the do man is the material which makes the world move.

The political reformations and ethics your magazine and lectures stand for and heroically advocate, however, are invaluable, and if heeded will bear great good results to the American people. Your criticisms of the administration as dropping into mediocrity, or not exercising the Cleveland role of "I am the govern-

ment," may be a little too true, because that monarch is remembered as a great party smasher and well-nigh a government disrupter—a role to be shunned.

L. V. P., Sutherland, Iowa.

[Our correspondent has reference to the discussion of Funston's capture of Aguinaldo, in our May number. It is sufficient to say in comment that not even warfare has been or is exempt from the influence of advancing civilization. As we said in the discussion referred to, "warfare at best is a carnival of barbarities and immoralities," but there are degrees of horror even in this, and civilization has been slowly working out some of these worst phases, just as it has been eliminating the worst and developing the better features of all human institutions throughout the whole course of progress. The international code and Red Cross society are products of this tendency, and both are actually recognized "on a practical basis" by civilized nations. So far from being incompatible with the "material necessary to make a fighting man and an effective warrior," respect for the code and the Red Cross is now one of the necessary qualifications of the best type of military commander.

The German and Russian armies in China have dropped in the estimation of Christendom just in proportion as they have transgressed these recognized limits, while our own has risen in worldwide respect by its humane self-control. General Chaffee was no less of an "effective warrior" because he restrained his soldiers from wanton murder and looting. On the contrary, he is the one man who comes out of the Chinese military complication with a distinct accession of honor and high standing, both as a soldier and a man. War is a monstrous evil, but even war is no longer a free field for unlimited cruelty and perfidy. Civilization has

hedged it in with the international code on just the same principle that it has modified the grim horror of capital punishment from burning at the stake to the instantaneous electric shock.

We regard it as a misfortune that Christendom should have the opportunity to condemn our war policy in the Philippines while yielding us even unwilling praise in China; and we see no reason to revise that opinion.]

A Source of Wholesome Influence

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I thank you most cordially for your very kind reference to Syracuse University in your June magazine. It is an honor to the university and will be helpful to us to be commended by a magazine which has attained the prominence and influence of the GUNTON.

We are thoroughly in accord with the principles which you defend and advocate. I believe it is an exceedingly wholesome thing for our colleges, and for our free institutions in general, that we have a publication like this magazine, which is welcome in this university and has a first place among the many periodicals that come here.

(Chancellor) JAMES R. DAY,

Syracuse University.

QUESTION BOX

Why President McKinley Is a Disappointment

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I was induced to take your magazine because of the vigorous body-blows you gave W. J. Bryan, and was sorry to read your attack upon the president and his administration in your comment upon the Cleveland and Toledo elections in your May issue.

You say: "Mr. McKinley is disappointing. He seems to have no moral strength to resist these discreditable and discredited corrupters. . . . This is becoming manifest in so many ways that the people are losing faith in the administration," etc.

Will you kindly specify who these corrupters are and some of the ways in which Mr. McKinley shows his want of moral strength? J. M., Johnstown, Neb.

This question is a legitimate one and entitled to a frank reply,—the more so because many other of our readers undoubtedly feel just as our correspondent does.

The specific instance of the kind referred to in the quoted passage occurred in New York city last September. We have heard of many others of a similar kind, but speak only of those of which the exact facts are in our possession. When a convention was being held to nominate candidates for congress in the 14th congressional district, New York city, Mr. George R. Bidwell, collector of the port of New York, with the assistance of Mr. Lemuel E. Quigg, the *alter ego* of Mr. Platt and special representative of the party organization, used their coercive power over office-holding delegates to change the convention from one candidate, who only a few days before the convention had a majority of more than thirty, to a majority for the other candidate with whom Mr. Bidwell and his associates

had made a deal. In one instance, at least, we were eye-witness to this coercion, and the evidence is conclusive that the same thing was done by the same parties in at least three other districts; enough to wipe out a majority of over thirty and nominate the Platt-Bidwell candidate.

All these facts were laid before President McKinley on the 4th of October, at Canton, Ohio. At his request no exposure was made before the election, he promising to deal adequately with the outrage after election, whether reelected or not; expressing, moreover, implicit belief in the facts as reported, and his indignation at such conduct by federal office-holders whom he had appointed. On the 4th of December the facts were again laid before the president in accordance with his previous request, in writing. Instead of carrying out his ante-election promise he reappointed this corrupting official, two months before his term had expired, as a mark of special approval. The president thus knowingly gave his official support to the corrupt methods of politicians by conspicuously rewarding the corrupters.

We cannot give space to repeat all the facts here, but refer our correspondent to the *New York Press* of February 18th, which published the entire documentary statement as presented to the president, and also to the *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, for February 15th, entitled "The Peril of Popular Government," in which the leading facts in the case are given. Either of these publications can be obtained post-paid for five cents.

Wall Street Gambling

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I was very much interested in your exposition of Wall street speculation in the June maga-

zine, but disappointed to find you proposing such mild remedies. You occasionally called it what it really is—plain gambling, but if it is gambling why should it not be treated so in the eyes of the law? A great time is made about closing up the gambling “joints” in the disreputable sections of New York, but these places cannot do anything like the amount of damage to the public interests at large that comes from the Wall street kind of gambling, which is likely at any time to bring ruin and panic after it. Selling what one does not own and buying what one does not want is no different from betting on the turns of a wheel, and ought to be suppressed by law as equally offensive to public morals.

H. D.

Yes, the doings of Wall street are sometimes “plain gambling.” But is only gambling when the transactions reach a special form, namely, selling what one does not possess. Buying to sell again is not gambling, nor is selling to buy again. Those are legitimate transactions. It is only when a party sells what he does not possess, and by so doing creates a large amount of fictitious transactions which can only be adjusted by losses and perhaps ruin, that it becomes simple gambling. Gambling “joints” are nothing but gambling; there is no legitimate aspect to them. The gambling feature in Wall street is an aspect only of what is otherwise necessary business. A panic in Wall street may produce more injury to the community in a day than all the gambling joints in New York city would in a year; but that is no reason why there should be an arbitrary suppression of Wall street business. True reform should always seek to deal only with the evil and leave the good. Perhaps our correspondent would like to have a law passed making it a penal offence to deal in stocks, but that would be a good deal like suppressing grocery stores because some of them put chalk in their sugar and burnt beans in their coffee

It would be creating a greater evil to suppress a lesser. If some way could be found to prevent fictitious buying and selling and compel transactions to be *bona fide*, the evil element in Wall street transactions would be largely eliminated. The mildness of the remedy, which seems to trouble our correspondent, is perhaps the real virtue of the proposition. Drastic remedies should always be avoided when possible; they are always offensive and usually ineffective.

Do Labor Unions "Level Down?"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I should be disposed to agree with Mr. Schwab rather than with you on the question of the "levelling-down" effect of labor unions. Is it not a fact that the unions will not let a man work only about so hard or so long and refuse to let him earn more than the others, so that if he ever expects to rise he must get out of the union?

R. E. C.

No, that is an unfair and almost perverted way of stating the case. Trade unions do not "level down," nor is it correct to say that they level up. Their chief struggle is to bring up the rear and lift up the bottom. There is no one fact with which trade unions are more familiar than that the laggard who works for low pay tends to drag down his class. It is for that reason they frequently refuse to work with non-union men. They know that in the long run non-union men are likely to work for less than union wages. There is just a grain of truth, and a grain only, in the statement that trade unions refuse to let their members earn more than a certain amount. They do refuse to permit their members to work more than a certain number of hours without extra pay, and sometimes double pay, and under certain circumstances they object to their earning exceptional amounts.

They never object to day hands getting high pay, never. Bricklayers or carpenters, for instance, who work by the day never object to any member of their union getting \$1 or \$2 or \$5 a day more than the rate. Every such rise helps to bring the others up, but when laborers are working by the piece they do object to any of their number making a special effort or spurt to do much more than the usual amount. The reason for this is that they have learned from definite experience that the employers will often induce workmen on piece-work to do an exceptional amount so as to "set the pace" for all the rest. And they also know that if they can by special efforts be made to raise the standard of quantity produced per day, the employers will take advantage of that fact at the first opportunity to lower the piece price, and so ultimately make it that the laborers will get no more for a larger amount of product than they formerly did for a smaller. The laborers have a large amount of experience behind this policy and they do, therefore, discourage piece-workers from trying to produce very much more than the normal output with average steady application.

But this is quite a different thing from saying that they "refuse to let him earn more than the others, so that if he ever expects to rise he must get out of the union." On the contrary, the union is constantly using its efforts to help every member to rise. Unions do not level down wages, but they act in the interests of their craft rather than in the interests of any single individual of their craft. Speaking generally, the influence and effort of trade unions is to bring up the wages of the poorer workmen and not to press down those of the best.

BOOK REVIEWS

DOMESTIC SERVICE. By Lucy Maynard Salmon. Cloth, 338 pages, \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The question of domestic service is becoming a perplexing part of the labor problem. The difficulties attending domestic service seem to increase directly as the conditions of industrial and commercial service improve. The development of the factory and improved condition of the factory operative has reflected itself into the life of the domestic servant. During the last few years the complaints of employers regarding the exactions and stipulations made by servant girls have become strikingly conspicuous. One can hardly ride in a public conveyance where two ladies are present without hearing the servant-girl question discussed in a depressing and pessimistic tone. They demand very much higher wages than formerly and insist upon doing very much less work. They want more half days off, insist upon more appointments and appliances, and sometimes even stipulate how much company their employer shall have.

This is not all so bad as it seems when told by the perplexed employer who has just been left in the lurch when she had company. It indicates that the improved conditions of labor in all other callings is finally reaching domestic servants. With the development in mechanical arts and manufactures, a multitude of new employments for women have arisen, and in all except domestic service the hours of labor are at least limited. The work-day ends at some definite time, and in many instances, especially stenographers, the work-day is not more than eight hours. All this forms a source of attraction. It furnishes the opportunity for the domes-

tic servant to transfer herself from domestic to mechanical and mercantile service and enables her effectively to demand higher wages and better conditions.

This is discussed at great length in the present work. The author has gone quite scientifically about her task. She first took pains to gather a large amount of data on the subject, from all parts of the country and from Europe, and with the facts she evidently frequently received opinions regarding the subject, all of which makes rather interesting reading, considering the vexed character of the subject. It is especially interesting to note the discussion by southern employers of some of the characteristics of the negro as a domestic servant.

The author has given a succinct, interesting, historical account of domestic service through the colonial period, citing in many instances the laws established for the regulation of domestic service, such as punishment of runaways, responsibility of the employer, power of the employer to punish, etc. In a chapter devoted to domestic service in Europe these features are also given with copious reference in foot-notes to authors, local usages, etc. Many tables are also furnished giving the wages of women and men servants of different grades, from nurse to cook and footman, in different countries and in different states in this country. One interesting table shows the number of persons to each domestic employee in the fifty largest cities of the country. Washington is at the head of the list, and Fall River, Mass., is at the foot. In Washington and Richmond, Virginia, there appears to be one domestic servant to every thirteen people, and in Fall River one to every seventy-three.

Although the domestic-servant question has been much discussed, the literature on the subject is very meager outside of some investigations by the labor

bureaus. This book probably contains more information and more intelligent discussion than has hitherto appeared in any single work, and it is well worth reading by all interested in sociological studies, of which the servant-girl question is not the least perplexing.

ECONOMICS. By Frank W. Blackmar, Ph.D. Cloth, 526 pages, \$1.00. Crane & Company, Topeka, Kansas.

As the author states in his preface, the object of this book is to present a complete working manual for students and instructors, and he has accomplished the object very well. It is really a class-room hand-book, touching almost every phase of the subject. It is entirely free from anything new or novel, yet the author in a "touch-and-go" way has utilized the latest literature on the subject.

In doing this, however, he has sometimes passed from the simple to the confused. This is particularly true in his discussion of value and price. He has here done what in his preface he says should specifically be avoided: namely, introduced "controverted points involving long and perhaps tedious discussion and analysis." The introduction of diagrams and formulas for beginners in economics is a great disadvantage to the study. At best the subject is apt to be dry and unattractive, and when accompanied by abstractions reduced to formulas it becomes repressive and repulsive. This may be necessary in advanced works on the subject, in working out new or unaccepted doctrine, but it is an unnecessary hindrance in the class-room.

TALKS ON CIVICS. By Henry Holt. Cloth, 493 pages, \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

If civics can be made to include everything pertaining to economics and government, this book is properly named. It comprises talks on every imagina-

ble topic connected with social, industrial and political experience. The talks are in the form of questions and answers. The reason the author adopted this mode was to avoid becoming tedious by lengthened continuous statement. He may have escaped that defect but he has surely added another: namely, lack of consecutive statement in adopting this choppy, dialogue form. However, it contains a few questions and answers on almost every question of interest, from cleaning streets to fiat money. It contains many bright things, some sound things and not a few foolish things, but no sustained reasoning on any subject. It would be difficult to think of a class of persons to whom one would recommend the reading of this book without feeling that he could spend his time much better in reading some other.

NEW MANUAL OF THE CONSTITUTION. By Israel Ward Andrews, D.D., LL.D. Cloth, 375 pages, \$1.00. American Book Company, New York.

Dr. Andrews has given us a neat, simple and instructive account of the constitution of the United States. It is really a hand-book on constitutional history. Almost every phase of political and social life that the constitution affects is touched upon in a brief but intelligible way. It is not a treatise but simply a manual of the constitution, and, as such, is a book that may find a useful place in every citizen's library.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Politics and the Moral Law. By Gustav Ruemelin, late chancellor of the University of Tubingen. Translated from the German by Rudolf Tombo, Jr., Ph. D., Columbia University. Edited with an introduction and notes by Frederick W. Holls, D. C. L. Cloth, 125 pp., 75 cents. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM JUNE MAGAZINES

“In the early part of the nineteenth century Tammany was a non-catholic, non-foreign body. Not only did the extreme prejudice against the holding of office by catholics and foreigners cause it to nominate exclusively protestants and natives, but a foreigner was not even allowed an important post in the Tammany society. But Tammany was remarkably adaptive, generally responding to every public influence that would yield it success. As immigration increased year by year, and foreigners and catholics became a more telling power politically and socially, Tammany, with much adroitness, made timely concessions by nominating them for minor offices. And when, by the introduction of manhood suffrage, the electorate was greatly increased, Tammany became professedly the friend of the immigrant. While the federalists and whigs abused him and did their best to minimize his efforts in politics, Tammany, through its organization committees, took him in charge, made his path to naturalization as facile a process as possible, gave him a small or important ‘job,’ according to the nature of his influence over his fellows, and altogether impressed him with the idea that, by being a Tammany man, he stood an excellent chance in life.”—GUSTAVUS MYERS, in “The Secrets of Tammany’s Success;” *The Forum*.

“At present, as everybody knows, these are almost the worst possible. Twice within the last few months I have seen a capital where every woman was in black. One was London, where the people were mourning their dead Queen; the other was Helsingfors, where people mourned their lost liberty. Every woman in Helsingfors bore the black symbols of personal woe

But personal protest went much farther than this. When General Bobrikoff, the Russian governor-general, who was sent to carry out the new *régime*, took his walks abroad, every Finn who saw him coming, crossed to the other side of the street. When he patronized a concert for some charitable purpose, the Finns bought all the tickets, but not a single one of them attended. The hotels refused apartments to one of the Finnish senators who supported the Russian proposals. By the indiscretion of a porter he secured rooms at one of the principal hotels and refused to leave. Therefore the hotel was boycotted and it is temporarily ruined. The Russian authorities, intending to make the Russian language compulsory in all government departments, invited several young Finnish functionaries to St. Petersburg to learn Russian under very advantageous conditions and with every prospect of official promotion. When the language ordinance was published and these Finns saw why they were desired to learn Russian, they immediately resigned. The Russians took charge of the postal system of Finland and abolished the Finnish stamps. Thereupon the Finns issued a 'mourning stamp,' all black except the red arms of Finland and the name of the country in Finnish and Swedish, and stuck it beside the Russian stamps on their letters. The Russians retorted by strictly forbidding its sale and destroying all letters which bore it. Now it is one of the curiosities of philately. So the wretched struggle goes on, and the young Finn turns his eyes and often his steps toward the United States and Canada."

—HENRY NORMAN, in "Russia of To-day;" *Scribner's*.





JOHN FISKE
(Courtesy of Houghton, Mifflin & Co.)

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Ohio Democracy
Rejects Bryan

The beginning of the end of the silver craze, within the camp of its own devotees, was reflected in the action of the democratic state convention in Ohio, the second week of July. It was also probably the beginning of the end of Mr. Bryan as a personal power in American politics. It meant definite rejection of his leadership in a highly influential quarter, and substitution of a new group of radicals whose supposed friendliness to the gold standard is expected to reconcile the conservative element, but whose underlying friendliness to nearly all the Kansas-City platform ideas except silver is expected to hold the rank and file of the old democratic-populist combination.

The convention conferred the somewhat forlorn honor of a nomination for governor upon James Kilbourne, of Columbus, a follower of the political fortunes of John R. McLean. Mr. McLean is one of the many democratic party managers who retired their supposed gold-standard convictions for the sake of party regularity under Bryanism. The convention put the stamp of recognition on the rising influence of Tom L. Johnson, in Ohio politics, by putting into the platform three "Johnson" planks, one on franchises, one on railroads and one on taxation. But the conspicuous and significant event was the overwhelming

rejection of a motion to endorse the Kansas City platform of 1900 and express confidence in the leadership of W. J. Bryan. The vote was 944 against this motion to 6 in favor of it.

The shock seems somewhat to have dazed Mr. Bryan. His comment in the *Commoner* of July 19 is almost lifeless. The reference to the convention's rejection of himself lacks all evidence of the "fighting" qualities which have so largely aided his success as a political leader. He says:

"General Finley was right in insisting upon a vote on his resolution endorsing the Kansas City platform, but he made a mistake in including in his resolution a complimentary reference to Mr. Bryan. Mr. Bryan is not a candidate for any office, and a mention of him might have been construed by some as an endorsement of him for office. The vote should have been upon the naked proposition to endorse the platform of last year, and then no one could have excused his abandonment of democratic principles by pleading his dislike for Mr. Bryan. The cause ought not to be made to bear the sins of an individual. Mr. Bryan will endure without complaint any punishment which the democracy of Ohio may see fit to administer to him, but he does not want his name used to the injury of a good platform."

It will be interesting to watch the extent to which this defection is followed by other democratic conventions. So far as silver is concerned, there can be little doubt that the issue will be rapidly abandoned. Even Charles A. Towne, the populist nominee for vice-president last year (withdrawing in favor of Mr. Stevenson), whose political faith was staked wholly on free coinage, has just declared that he regards the silver issue as "absolutely dead. It will not only not be an issue in 1904, but I do not believe it will be mentioned in the democratic platform or campaign. . . . So long as the present condition continues or the supply of gold increases, there can be no successful or serious demand for the free coinage of silver."

Mr. Bryan may follow the silver issue into political retirement, but it would be a colossal mistake to

imagine that "Bryanism" is going into political retirement or even into the background. The popular suspicion of corporations, distrust of the government, and dread of capitalistic tendencies in general is fully as widespread as ever, and will find expression in new channels whenever the old are found inadequate for the purpose. The tendency towards socialism, as a means of destroying private wealth and getting rid of the so-called "incurable" abuses of our industrial system, is very strong, and every fresh labor disturbance adds impetus to the revolutionary sentiment. To accept the Ohio convention as justifying any new sense of security, or as lessening the necessity for a wise, just and broad-minded attitude on the part of capitalists, or of a permanent campaign of rational economic education among the people, would be to open the doors wider than ever to a flood of repressive and destructive legislation. Silver was only the sporadic manifestation of a widespread popular unrest and dissatisfaction. That issue may disappear, and Bryan with it, but all the deeper undercurrent of social distrust and antagonism to existing institutions, which found expression in Bryanism, is still in motion with scarcely diminished momentum. Indeed, the need of wise, progressive dealing with the social problems out of which this movement grows was never greater than it is to-day.

**Another Great
Labor Struggle**

It is not surprising that this summer should see a gigantic struggle in the steel industry, nor that the point at issue should be the principle of organization itself rather than specific demands for improved conditions. The present strike is a fresh effort to bring the labor side of the steel-producing industry up to an equality of economic power with the capitalistic side, under the new conditions which capitalistic concentration has brought

about. Earlier in the season, the manufacturers reached almost the full limit of possible concentration, by forming the largest industrial corporation in the world, and it might have been expected that sooner or later labor would seek to match this overshadowing power by an expansion of the concentration principle throughout its own ranks.

The parallel is even closer than might appear on the surface, because the steel combination is not a simple corporation managing its own plants by its own officials, but is purely a stockholding concern, owning and managing the majority stocks of various distinct companies which still retain their own officers and management of their own plants. Thus the United States Steel Corporation is a definite example of the principle of collective action of distinct units through joint *representation*, which is exactly the right claimed by the laborers for their unions, and so long denied by the employers. The privilege of organizing and treating with the employers, through chosen representatives, is what is really sought at bottom in the present struggle, and, as an abstract principle, it is something the laborers have both the technical and moral right to ask and to expect.

The Weak
Point in the
Unions' Demand

The greatest difficulties in the way of securing recognition of this equal right of organization have been, and still are, that organized laborers have too often sought their ends by violent or utterly unreasonable methods, and that they cannot with any certainty be relied upon to stand responsible for and abide by arrangements made by their representatives, in any such way as capitalist stockholders stand by and support the action of their chosen officials. These facts handicap at the outset the laborers' side of the present struggle, and divide

the public's sympathy, while the naked principle of the right to organize and be recognized, if nothing else were involved, would command almost universal support.

**The Facts
in the Case**

The trouble first arose between the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers and the American Sheet Steel Company, one of the concerns included in the United States Steel Corporation. A number of the plants of the sheet steel company are operated by union labor and a few by non-union, but, at the time of the signing of a new wage scale for the year, which is usually done in July, the demand was made by President Shaffer of the amalgamated association that the scale agreed upon for the union mills be extended to cover the non-union plants also. This was refused, and the demand interpreted to mean that the association was trying to force the company to unionize all its mills, by practically compelling the non-union workmen to join the unions or be discharged.

Another cause of trouble was the report that the Carnegie Steel Company, which has been non-union since 1892, was about to absorb the American Steel Hoop Company and the National Steel Company, which have heretofore employed union labor, and convert them into non-union concerns.

A conference was held in Pittsburg on July 11th, between President Shaffer and other officials of the amalgamated association and various officers of the corporations affected. Here President Shaffer explained at length the grounds upon which the association demanded the unionizing of the non-union mills. He charged that it was coming to be the policy of the companies to turn the largest possible amount of work over to the non-union plants, and let all the shut-

downs and suspensions fall upon the union mills, thus practically making it necessary for workmen to leave the union and go to the non-union plants to get steady work. This he declared to be the companies' "slow-starvation" method of breaking up the labor organizations, and that it was a matter of life and death for the association to have the union scale extended to the non-union plants.

The representatives of the corporations denied any such policy or intention on their part, but no agreement was reached, and on Monday morning, July 15th, the strike began. The employees of the American Tin Plate Company were called out in addition to those of the sheet steel and steel hoop companies, and about 74,000 men in all obeyed the order. No signs of yielding appear on either side as yet, and it is anticipated that if the amalgamated association thinks it necessary the employees of several other of the great concerns included in the United States Steel Corporation will be called out in aid of the general struggle for the abolition of non-union mills. If the strike takes on such proportions as this it will be the most serious in our industrial history, and the outcome certain to have far-reaching consequences.

**The Probable
Real Merits**

If it is true that the corporations have adopted the plan of "starving out" the unions by assigning work more and more to the non-union plants, it is not surprising that the men should make an effort for extension of the union scale to all plants. If, on the other hand, the demand of the association really is that the companies discharge all their non-union workmen, it is wholly arbitrary and tyrannical and ought not to succeed. President Shaffer denies that this is the demand, and says:

"We are demanding simply that the companies sign and enforce our scale in all their mills, and thus do away with the injustice of running the mills employing the lower priced non-union labor during dull seasons, while our own men were idle. As to the organization of the men in the non-union mills, we ask only that the companies do not interfere with our efforts at organization and do not prohibit the men from joining us."

If this were literally all there is of the association's demand, it would not seem to be in itself particularly unreasonable. Non-union men could not regard it as a serious grievance, or restriction of their freedom, if the wages under which they work were secured for them by the amalgamated association and guaranteed by an agreement between the companies and the association, so long as the scale was as good as (and probably better than) the men could have secured for themselves, acting alone; and so long, also, as they themselves were left free to join the union or not.

The trouble at this point lies in the probability that when the mills were once organized the demand would actually be made for discharge of the remaining non-union men, if they refused to join the union. This practice is general among labor organizations, and even President Shaffer's definite statement gives little assurance that, if conditions became such as to put the balance of power in the hands of the unions, the same exclusive and coercive attitude would not be taken by the various organizations locally which they now disclaim as a part of their general policy.

Apart from this, however, it must be confessed that the solicitude of the corporations about the "freedom" of their non-union men is a trifle overdone. No one seriously believes that the employees in the non-union mills are not organized because they voluntarily prefer not to organize. They are men of exactly the same general group, the same interests, views and tendencies as the employees in the union mills of the

same industry. Who, for instance, recalling the experience of 1892, imagines that the employees of the Carnegie company are non-union because they are opposed to organization? The truth is, the absence of unions in the various plants under dispute indicates that the men have not dared to organize through fear of discharge. This is further confirmed by the fact that since the present struggle began the men in many of the non-union mills have gone out in sympathy with the strikers, showing the presence of union sentiment nearly as strong as that in the organized mills. On July 18th, for example, the employees of the Duncansville plant of the steel hoop company telegraphed President Shaffer, asking for an organizer to come and form a union in order that they might join the strike. If this plant is closed, the steel hoop company will have practically no mills left in operation.

**A Possible Basis
of Settlement**

An interview appeared in the *New York Tribune* of July 17th, with a financier reported to be in close connection with the management of the steel interests, in which the impression was strongly given that if the non-union men expressed a desire to form unions and join the association the steel corporation would make no objection and the strike could be amicably settled; that the corporation's resistance was due to the determination to protect its non-union workmen from being forced into the union. Of course, this expression carried no responsibility with it so far as the steel corporation is concerned, but it may possibly have been a "feeler" intended to test the case with the non-union men and pave the way for a settlement which should seem not to involve surrender of any principle or loss of any prestige. Such a solution is not the most improbable thing in the world, even though Mr. Morgan has de-

clared that there can be no compromise on the point at issue between the companies and the unions.

If the amalgamated association were simply demanding the right to organize the non-union men if it can, with no coercion involved, and the further right to secure a uniform wage scale for all the mills, while conducting its side of the conflict peaceably, it could be hoped that a settlement on some such voluntary basis as that just suggested might be reached. If the unions, however, are really demanding, or paving the way for demanding, that the companies discharge their non-union employees, it is practically certain that the steel corporation will not yield, and it will have public sentiment with it in the refusal. The association, if it is wise, will avoid any such arbitrary policy, and recognize the fact that while a giant concern like the United States Steel Corporation can be induced to yield many successive moderate demands rather than incur the losses of strikes, stoppage of plants, etc., if the issue is made on a point vital to its profitableness and independence of management the struggle will necessarily be carried to the farthest limits of endurance. When a conflict of this latter kind takes place, it is practically impossible for the men to win. The strength of the unions comes when the problem in dispute is one involving relative profit or loss to the corporation, not when it is simply a question of endurance. This plain fact ought to work itself thoroughly into the consciousness of organized labor and become a permanent guarantee of reasonableness, both in the character of the demands and methods used to enforce them.

**Russia's Arbitrary
Tariff Policy**

The attitude taken by a considerable portion of the press on the Russian tariff controversy is an exaggerated case of inconsistency, so far as the problem of integrity in pub-

lic life is concerned. The journals of the class referred to are usually most vociferous of all in the demand for honest government, incorruptible statesmanship and disregard of private interests when opposed to public welfare or public duty. They are continually sighing for public officials with enough respect for the sacredness of free institutions to enforce the law uniformly and firmly, without any special exemptions in favor of purely commercial interests. Their steady complaint is that the capitalistic and "money-chasing" spirit of the age is so strong that public officials are mostly occupied in arguing away plain governmental principles, and twisting the meaning of statutes by ingenious "interpretations" to fit them to the wishes of whatever financial and industrial interests can pay the largest price for such "accommodation." Political principle has been forced to abdicate and political favoritism is on the throne.

There is enough truth in this to make it serious without adding to the indictment the few instances where government officials do adhere to the path of plain duty when the clamor of commercial interests is the other way. Secretary Gage's policy towards Russia in the pending tariff controversy is exactly a case of this sort. Upon what is the outcry against Mr. Gage based? Simply upon the fear that if he persists in his course our export trade with Russia may be injured. His enforcement of plain and unavoidable provisions of the law is called "trumping up technicalities" which ought not for a moment to stand in the way of our all-important expansion of foreign trade. This is consistency of political ethics with a vengeance. How long ago was it that the secretary of the treasury was savagely denounced from these same sources for what was called "violating the plain spirit of the law" in depositing government funds with certain large New York

banks? After this present experience, the solemn bewailings of certain of these journals about our protective system being a legalized surrender of high principle to greedy commercialism will be more than ever ridiculous.

**The Points
at Issue**

What is Secretary Gage's offence? Simply that he is strictly obeying the law.

It was found after a long and careful investigation, in which representatives of both American and Russian interests had ample hearing, that Russia pays the equivalent of an export bounty on sugar by practically compelling the exportation of all sugar above a certain amount, and remitting the internal taxes on such sugar as is exported. The Dingley tariff law provides that when any country pays a bounty, directly or indirectly, on an exported article of merchandise, and that article is dutiable upon importation into this country, an additional duty shall be levied on such article equal to the amount of the bounty paid on it by the exporting country. Accordingly, when the decision was finally reached that Russia actually pays an indirect bounty on sugar, the secretary had no option but to impose an additional duty, to an equal amount, on Russian sugar coming into the United States, thus putting Russia on the same competitive basis with Germany, France and other countries which have been paying the additional duty all along, to offset the export bounties they bestow at home.

The extra duty on Russian sugar was re-imposed, therefore, on February 14th last. The Russian government pretended to regard this as an outrageous discrimination, and M. De Witte, minister of finance, promptly proceeded to "retaliate" by raising the duties on a long list of American imports into Russia, principally manufactures of iron and steel, tools, gas

and water meters, engines, dynamos, etc., the amount of the increase in the tariff rates being about 30 per cent.

The other point in controversy is the duty we recently imposed on Russian petroleum. Here, too, the secretary had no other option, under the terms of the Dingley law. The question came up in June, 1900, at Rochester, New York, where an importation of refined petroleum from Russia was subjected to a duty under the provision of the law which (while in all other cases petroleum is on the free list) requires that:

"If there be imported into the United States crude petroleum or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States, there shall in such cases be levied, paid and collected a duty upon said crude petroleum or its products so imported equal to the duty imposed by such country."

Russia admittedly imposes a duty on American petroleum, therefore the compensatory duty levied by our customs officials was entirely proper. Nevertheless an appeal was taken, but the decision rendered last January sustained our government's position. The point is of infinitesimal importance, because Russia exports practically no petroleum to this country, yet M. De Witte took this as a fresh "discrimination" and imposed a retaliatory duty upon American resin, bicycles, etc., a course which reduces the much vaunted statesmanship of the Russian minister of finance to something very near puerility. The sole and only reason why we imposed a duty on Russian petroleum was the fact that Russia had made that course absolutely obligatory by putting a duty on American petroleum going into Russia. That Russia should "retaliate" for a tariff duty levied solely because of Russia's own voluntary act is indeed what the *New York Journal of Commerce* calls "one of the most preposterous acts in the history of tariff wars."

Another phase of the petroleum controversy, however, relates to paraffin made in England from Russian petroleum and imported into the United States. The secretary of the treasury, early last March, issued a circular of instructions in response to an inquiry from the port of New York, requiring that invoices of petroleum or articles containing petroleum imported into the United States be accompanied by a United States consular certificate showing in what country the petroleum was produced, and duties levied accordingly. This circular was the immediate cause of M. De Witte's reprisal duties on resin and bicycles, the ground being taken that the Dingley law did not authorize a duty on a product made in England from Russian petroleum. The wording of the law is perfectly explicit, however,—“crude petroleum or the products of crude petroleum produced in any country which imposes a duty on petroleum or its products exported from the United States.”

Even M. De Witte appears finally to have seen the absurdity of his entire attitude on the petroleum question. He has lately proposed to ignore this phase of the controversy and regard all excess duties now levied on American products as due to our sugar tariff, offering further to abolish all these extra duties if we will remit this extra counterbalancing sugar duty. Secretary Gage has replied that he has no authority to accept such a proposal, as the question of the legality of the sugar duties is now before the United States supreme court.

Why Secretary
Gage is Right

Whether the question were before the court or not, there is no reason why the secretary should accept any such proposition, and no authority by which he could do so. He is not a voluntary agent in the matter; he is simply obey-

ing the express commands of the law. The charge is made, of course—(there would be cause for anxiety and alarm if by any chance it were missing)—that Secretary Gage's action is due to the "influence" of the sugar and oil "trusts." Just how much interest the sugar corporation has in the matter, when the total Russian importation of sugar amounts to only a few hundred thousand dollars' worth a year, and the oil company, which has driven Russia out of its own market for oil in a large number of the world markets, may be left for newspaper sensationalism to enlarge upon. It is safe to say that the yellow journals are much better posted on the subject than the secretary of the treasury himself.

If the secretary were seeking political popularity in this matter, his direct and easy course would be to heed the clamor of these more numerous commercial interests, which are far more urgent about holding the small trade this country has with Russia than either the sugar or oil "trusts" could possibly be in keeping Russian products out. The only influence that is being brought to bear on the secretary is the pressure from these other exporting interests, not from the "trusts," and the reason why he is not yielding is that he has the law before him and is sworn to enforce it.

We are entering upon no general defence of the secretary of the treasury and his policies, but in the present instance he is properly upholding the integrity and dignity of his office. To maintain a consistent policy in this respect will be worth far more to this country than all the trade with Russia for the next quarter of a century. Even from the narrowest viewpoint of pure commercialism, no permanent gain could come from a surrender to Russian pretensions on any of the points at issue. Yielding would be taken as a certain sign of weakness, and even as an invitation to

further demands for special tariff concessions as the price of having the right of equal treatment with other nations in Russian markets. Russia can be relied upon to use the privilege of access to her markets as a threatening club over our heads at all times, if once we give the impression that we consider that market so valuable that we will discredit our own diplomacy and ignore our own statutes in order to hold it. Our government is entirely in the right of the controversy, and Russia is in no position to invite American hostility, commercial or otherwise. If the supreme court finally decides that Russia does in reality pay an export bounty on sugar, and therefore that the additional duty levied by us is proper and obligatory, no course will be open to the secretary of the treasury but to continue the present policy. Russia may or may not seek a satisfactory solution of the controversy, but in any case there should be no backdown on our part from the course obviously dictated by legal necessity, fairness to other nations with whom we have trade relations, and the upholding of our diplomatic prestige throughout the world.

**Civil Rule in
the Philippines**

Civil government was formally established in the Philippine Islands, so far as existing conditions will permit, on the Fourth of July, and Judge Taft appointed civil governor. The order issued by Secretary Root read as follows:

"On and after the 4th day of July, 1901, until it shall be otherwise ordered, the president of the Philippine commission will exercise the executive authority in all civil affairs in the government of the Philippine Islands heretofore exercised in such affairs by the military governor of the Philippines, and to that end the Hon. William H. Taft, president of the said commission, is hereby appointed civil governor of the Philippine Islands. . . .

"The military governor of the Philippines is hereby relieved from the performance on and after the said 4th day of July of the civil duties

hereinbefore described, but his authority will continue to be exercised as heretofore in those districts in which insurrection against the authority of the United States continues to exist, or in which public order is not sufficiently restored to enable provincial civil governments to be established under the instructions to the commission dated April 7, 1900."

At the same time General Chaffee was placed in chief command of the military department, succeeding General MacArthur, who has been at the head of the army in the Philippines since General Otis' return to the United States. Both these changes, the formal effort to establish civil instead of military rule and the placing of General Chaffee in charge of whatever military operations are still to be conducted, are gratifying and encouraging. Until civil authority can be actually exercised, there is no hope of getting the Philippines started towards either autonomous self-government or complete independence, while on the other hand, so long as military operations are still necessary, it is reassuring to have a man of General Chaffee's proved capacity and blunt common sense in active command.

Judge Taft, the new civil governor, in his inaugural address stated that of the 27 provinces now organized under American rule the insurrection still exists in 5; 16 other provinces are free from insurrection but not yet organized, and 4 others are not ready for civil government. Even in the "pacified" provinces, Governor Taft predicted that when the troops were concentrated into larger garrisons it would be necessary for the people to assist the police in the preservation of order,—a suggestion which does not seem to show any great degree of genuine reconciliation in the submission that has been forced upon the natives. This side of the situation appears even more serious in the light of what General Bates, recently in command of the southern provinces of the Philippines, reports in regard to the military situation in the islands. In an interview given at Washington he said:

"My own view is that it would be a mistake to withdraw the American troops too rapidly, for up to the time I left the islands, which was the latter part of April, it was not safe for an American to go away from a garrison without an escort. It is hoped that the condition will improve rapidly, but surrenders are not being made quite so rapidly as I hoped when I left there."

As to the feeling among the natives, the general said:

"There is a very strong desire among the Filipinos for complete independence, even on the part of the more intelligent people, who will admit that they are not at present capable of self-government. They wish to have the hope of independence in the future. That is, I think, the sentiment of a large majority of the people; they wish at least that much. The people are anxious for schools, and all classes want them. They want to learn English. Aguinaldo himself, I understand, is studying English. The children are anxious to learn English, and their parents wish them to do so."

A dispatch from Manila, dated July 18th, brings the information that after three months' trial the provincial form of government, which had been set up in the province of Batangas (Luzon) and the islands of Cebu and Bohol, had been abandoned, as the communities are too backward for civil administration, while in none of them is pacification yet a success. "Several towns in Cebu are still besieged by the insurgents. The insurrection in Bohol has been renewed, and insurrection sentiment in Batangas is strong." Military government will therefore be resumed in these sections.

Furthermore, no effort apparently has been made to abolish slavery in the Sulu Islands, which came under our authority by the treaty concluded between General Bates and the Sultan of Sulu in 1899. Polygamy and slavery were recognized in this treaty, and, although President McKinley declared that the arrangement had no official sanction, both institutions still appear to continue under our flag, and of course in direct violation of the constitution. That this slavery does still exist has positive evidence in the fact that

Mandi, the Moro chief of Zamboanga, has only recently set his slaves free, showing, of course, that he as well as the other chiefs of the southern Philippines have been holding slaves just the same under our rule as under the Spanish, and apparently without interference, as this freeing of slaves on the part of Mandi seems to have been entirely voluntary.

To obey the constitutional mandate and abolish slavery would probably lead to a savage warfare with these barbarians, and the peculiar condition now is that we are able to purchase peace only in a way which must in a degree lower respect for the fundamental law of the land, in the eyes of our own citizens. Clearly, we have an heroic task ahead, ranging all the way from the abolition of slavery among virtual savages, at one end of the situation, to the compelling of intelligent and civilized natives to accept and heartily take part in a system of civil administration under our sovereignty, at the other. For the sake of the earliest and best solution of all these diverse problems, in a way looking towards the ultimate independence for which the better element of the Filipinos continue to hope, the work of Governor Taft and General Chaffee ought to be supported and encouraged, for this is the only practical road out of our responsibilities and perplexing complications in that quarter of the Orient. Whatever mistakes brought us into it, there is no other feasible or honorable way to deal with the situation now.

**The Danger of
Absorption**

At the same time, the situation in the Philippines cannot but impress once more the dangers that would come from establishing any close and vital relationship with these island groups of people, in the sense of incorporating them into the union as integral parts of our constitutional system. Recent experience in Hawaii further

confirms this feeling, and ought to make every American citizen thankful that the recent decision of the supreme court made it possible to protect ourselves against the incalculable evils of including these islands in our political system. It is a misfortune that we should have had to face a situation which absolutely required adopting quasi-monarchical principles for the government of colonies outside the union. But it is better so than that the integrity of our democratic institutions within the union itself should be undermined by the addition of alien races unqualified to share in or in any way influence our policies here at home. The Hawaiians and Cubans and Filipinos may conceivably be quite as able to carry on independent governments adapted to their own peculiar needs and conditions, with restricted suffrage and certain arbitrary features where necessary, as are many of the Central and South American republics, but they are certainly not fitted any more than are these latter countries to take a hand in shaping the destinies of the United States. In Hawaii the new experiment in territorial government is working very badly, and, unless conditions rapidly improve, congress ought to devise some new form of government which shall distinctly set Hawaii outside the limits of possible admission to statehood, at least for a long time to come. Right here already we are facing one of the certain dangers of an expansion policy which does not proceed upon this basis at the start. If, through sentimental weakness, the door is left open for admitting these outside possessions to statehood, the excuse for doing this very thing will be found at the earliest possible moment, whenever expediency seems to make it advisable. Experience is rich in illustration of this. The only safeguard is to give these island territories a form of government which cannot lead to statehood except by many and gradual steps, and to

establish the policy with reference to all of them that statehood is a prize purchasable only by reaching an approximately equal plane of civilization to that existing in the United States, whether it takes a generation or a century or five centuries.

**Current Price
Comparisons***

For Saturday, July 20, the New York *Journal of Commerce* shows the following wholesale prices:

	1901	1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.80a4.00	\$4 10a4.40
Wheat, No. 2 red	77	84½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	57½	45½
Oats, No. 3 mixed	38	28
Pork, mess	16.00	12.75
Lard, prime western	8.87	7.00
Beef hams	20.50	20.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7	5½	9½a10
Tea, Formosa	23	24
Sugar, granulated	5.45	6.10
Butter, creamery, extra	19½a .	19½a .
Cheese, State, f. c. white, small, fancy . .	a9½	9a9½
Cotton, middling upland	8½	10
Print cloths	2½	2½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.50	7.85
Hides, native steers	12½	10½
Leather, hemlock	24½	23
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00a16.50	16.00a17.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00a15.50	19.25a19.50
Tin, Straits	27.76a28.50	35.00a . . .
Copper, Lake ingot	17	16.37½a . .
Lead, domestic	a4½	a4.00

***Monthly Price Facts.**—Reliable current information on prices and the tendency of prices, presented in a concise and intelligible form, is of much importance to everyone interested in the economic conditions of the country. Such information is not easy of access outside the group of purely commercial interests, and we have arranged to print in this place each month, for the convenience of our readers, a brief statement of current wholesale prices of the principal commodities, for the 20th day of the preceding month, as given by the New York *Journal of Commerce and Commercial Bulletin*; also, the latest "Index Number" table, from *Dun's Review*, showing the tendency of prices of 350 selected articles, averaged according to their relative importance in the per capita consumption of the country.

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for July 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	July 1, 1901.	Jan. 1, 1901.	July 1, 1900.	July 1, 1899.	July 1, 1898.
Breadstuffs.	\$149.04	\$144.86	\$148.98	\$134.83	127.83
Meats	94.30	84.07	89.06	79.88	76.94
Dairy and Garden . .	110.30	155.56	109.01	109.74	94.37
Other Food	90.86	95.04	94.82	91.57	88.26
Clothing	150.98	160.24	163.24	150.21	146.63
Metals	153.44	158.10	148.34	156.35	118.43
Miscellaneous	166.17	158.81	160.70	129.69	125.22
Total	\$915.09	\$956.68	\$914.15	\$852.27	\$777.68

Although the effects of the general rise of prices, in connection with the extraordinary prosperity following the Spanish war, are still plainly visible, the trend of prices during the last six months has been steadily downward. It is noteworthy that a part of this decline has been in metals, a department of industry where heavy advances were popularly regarded as certain to come, in consequence of the steel combination. Other declines are in dairy, garden and other foods, and manufactured clothing, while stock raisers and producers of the great agricultural staples are on the advancing list. These figures clearly show that natural economic forces are at work, and the tendency is for the economies resulting from large reorganization to result in lowering prices.

A CANDID VIEW OF THE STEEL STRIKE

The strike of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers is in some respects the most significant strike ever attempted in this country. The purpose and method of the strike are unique in the history of the labor movement. There is no question of wages, hours of labor, or other economic conditions involved. The strike is inaugurated solely to unionize the laborers in certain mills of the United States Steel Corporation, which could not be unionized before these mills became a part of the reorganization. The amalgamated association not only demands that these mills be unionized but it insists that the corporations shall unionize them. The boldness and novelty of this proposition seems to have thrown the press into hysterics. Instead of discussing the question with reason and dignity, many of the usually level-headed journals have descended to the plane of sensational fanatics. Even the *New York Journal of Commerce* exclaims: "This is absolutism more irresponsible than that of the czar of Russia." The *New York Times* denounces it as a high-handed and despotic act of infamy, whose "author should be visited with the odium and abhorrence that deservedly attach to public enemies," and says that the "men cannot agree to work for higher wages than union men get in other mills." And even the *Brooklyn Eagle* permits itself to say: "If there ever was a time when these employers forbade men to belong to trade unions, it has passed."

This is mere sensational assertion and misrepresents the case of the strikers in about the same degree that during the last two years the press and politicians have misrepresented large corporations. It should hardly be necessary to say that unions have never tried

to prevent men from agreeing to "work for higher wages than union men get in other mills;" this is one of those misstatements of men like Schwab, which the *New York Times* ought to be ashamed to repeat. The *Brooklyn Eagle*, too, must have forgotten the Carnegie persecution of the laborers who attempted to organize at Homestead. The right to organize has not only been denied the men, but the refusal has been brutally enforced by the summary discharge of every man suspected of trying to reorganize them. We are told that in some of the mills the men have signed contracts not to join a union. Does any one in his senses imagine that workmen ever voluntarily sign a contract not to belong to a union? No man ever voluntarily signs away his right to do anything. Whenever we find laborers under a contract not to join a union, we may be absolutely certain that such contract was forced upon them. This sort of thing only contributes to the confusion of the public mind and bitterness of the laborers, without bringing a single atom of enlightenment, sense and sound judgment to the consideration of the subject.

There are three significant features of the present situation which it is of the utmost importance to the public and to both parties to this controversy carefully to consider. In the first place it should be remembered that this is a struggle for the right of organization. This principle is at stake. It is useless for any one to deny this and pretend that the right to organize is everywhere conceded. There has not been a year within the last quarter of a century in which the right of laborers to organize has not been challenged by employers—sometimes by recourse to the blacklist, sometimes by one method and sometimes by another. The Homestead strike was deliberately inaugurated to break up labor unions and destroy the right of laborers to

organize. The right for laborers freely to organize is not an accomplished fact. It is a disputed privilege which has constantly to be contended for, and wherever the union sentiment is a little weakened the opposition assumes an aggressive form.

This same thing may be said of capital. The right of capital freely to organize is not an established fact. It is constantly disputed and often threatened by adverse legislation. This was one of the most conspicuous issues in the last campaign and possibly will be in the next. Whenever a class is struggling for a right there is always danger of irrational and sometimes hysterical conduct. In the name of freedom the greatest despotism is often perpetrated. It will not be denied that organization is a social principle without which modern industry would be impossible. It cannot be abrogated without the destruction of society, and capitalists who deny it to laborers and laborers who deny it to capitalists are but arraying themselves against the essential forces of progress.

There is one idea behind this powerful organizing tendency in both capital and labor which is fundamentally erroneous: namely, that the function of organization is to secure exclusive control. This would be a deadly menace to society. The object of organization should be efficiency, not monopoly. Universal authority is deadening to all diversifying initiative, and is a menace to progress. Uniformity is the formula for stultification; diversity for progress. It matters not whether the uniformity be accomplished by a single-headed despotism or by a collective despotism, the result is the same. Whether in government as under the Roman empire, in religion as in the middle ages, or in industry by either labor or capital as at present, the struggle for universal authority is sure to fail because it antagonizes progress. It nearly always leads to unwarranted

conduct, to oppression, coercion and sometimes persecution on the assumption that the end justifies the means.

The only legitimate function of organization or group action is increased efficiency, either in productive effort or protective power. Organization may properly be the means of superiority and great leadership, but this can only be safely exercised when it is acquired under conditions of free rivalry or competition; that is to say, when the success is due to unaided superiority, but whenever this is acquired or maintained by the use of repressive measures by the organization, over the free action of others, or legal barriers erected by legislation, the result becomes injurious to public welfare.

It is this false idea of exclusive control that is the mistake of the amalgamated association in the present strike. There have been many strikes in this country to establish the right of laborers to organize, and, since organization is indispensable to any effective action by the laborers, this is a no less legitimate object of struggle than is the question of wages or hours of labor. Employers who challenge the laborers' right to organize are simply prolonging an inevitable struggle which can ultimately have but one outcome. The right to organize involves a principle no less essential to the laborers' welfare than is the right of free speech or free choice of employment.

But it is one thing to demand the right of laborers to organize and quite another to enforce organization upon them. And it is still more extraordinary to insist that corporations shall use coercive power to compel laborers to join a specific organization. Yet that is practically what the present strike is for.

The simple facts of the case are that when the representatives of the association and the companies in

the United States Steel Corporation met to adjust a scale for the ensuing year, all the conditions as to prices, hours, apprentices, etc., were agreed to and the corporation was ready to sign the scale for all the plants in which the workmen were members of the amalgamated association. But the association went a step farther and insisted that the corporation sign the union scale for union mills as well as the non-union mills.

On the face of it, this signing of the scale would seem to imply that the corporations simply agreed to a certain scale of wages and hours of labor for the ensuing year, for union and non-union mills alike. If this were the whole case, it would seem very much like a magnanimous act on the part of the amalgamated association, but signing the scale means very much more than merely settling the wages and hours for the year. Signing the scale means signing an agreement to accept, besides the prescribed wages and hours, the union regulations of the shop or factory. These are numerous and precise and sometimes very arbitrary. In short, a union shop is run by the union with a union foreman who, in a great many essential respects, is responsible to the union rather than to the corporation. Signing the scale for non-union mills, then, would at once give the association the power to compel every laborer in those mills, who was not a member of the union, to become a member or be discharged.

Thus the demand is not merely that these mills shall be unionized but that they shall be coercively unionized by the corporations under the power of discharge. This transcends all legitimate functions of organization. This is seeking to establish exclusive control by coercion. The union does not rely on the moral power of organization, or on the voluntary acts of the laborers, but it is using the coercive power of a

strike to coerce the corporations into coercing the laborers to join the amalgamated association.

This is neither sound in principle nor wise in policy. It is precisely the principle against which labor organizations have struggled for nearly a century. It can have no defence in economics or ethics. The very idea of such a policy is intolerable from the point of view not merely of individual freedom but of free competing groups and voluntary organization. It is a very serious question whether the universal consolidation of labor organization is a thing to be desired;—whether it would be beneficial to the public, to capital or even to laborers. While exclusive control is risky, if not dangerous, under any circumstances, it is particularly dangerous in the hands of inexperience and ignorance. Labor organizations have not yet developed a sufficiently high standard of honor and integrity to secure even the fulfilment of written agreements between organizations and corporations.

Several cases have occurred recently in which laborers who, through their organization, had entered into solemn agreements with their employers to submit differences to arbitration, when trouble arose, not merely the rank and file broke the agreement, but the leaders and even the national leaders, as in the case of the miners and machinists, encouraged and practically ordered them to break it. Before the interests of labor and of the community can safely be entrusted to the authority of any single labor organization, or any syndicate of labor organizations, the unions must establish a higher standard of statesmanship, a greater degree of integrity of contract, a more liberal view of individual rights, and an altogether clearer conception of the economic interests of the community and the rights of corporations than prevails among them to-day.

With a few exceptions, the best labor leaders in

the country are narrow and almost fanatical in their attitude towards capital, have little statesmanlike conception of the social principles governing economic affairs, but think of all wealth as created by and rightfully belonging to the laborers. With such dwarfed economic conceptions, and the spirit of class suspicion and persecution which hitherto has pervaded the entire labor ranks, it would be disastrous to labor itself for either the amalgamated association or the federation of labor or any other labor organization to acquire exclusive control over the labor forces of the country. It would be a distinct setback in the progress of the laboring classes, because it would be the inauguration of a system of uniformity of conduct and dictatorial authority from a low social level.

The acquisition, then, of exclusive authority by the amalgamated association would be a calamity. It would be a calamity even if this power were acquired by voluntary organization, but it would be a double calamity if it were acquired by the power of coercion as is proposed in the present strike. It is as necessary to wholesome progress that there be free independent group action among the forces of labor as it is that there should be competition among the forces of capital. It is altogether probable that the progress will be more wholesome if the labor movement goes on partly organized and partly unorganized, or organized in independent groups which are not called upon to obey the command of any single head. Let the point once be reached when not to obey a central authority is to incur ostracism and persecution, *i. e.*, to be put upon the labor blacklist, and the progressive element in the trade-union movement is dead. Nothing will keep organized labor liberal and wholesome, and compel unions to put their very best material to the front, but being compelled to stand on their merits. If all the

laborers, by voluntary action or coercion, were in the organized ranks, and the edicts of the leaders were the law of the movement, merit, sense, fairness and personal rights would soon disappear. To fill their highest function and be of the greatest service to the laborers and the community, labor organizations must be entirely voluntary. Leadership must depend on character, and the growth and power of organization must depend on the moral attractiveness of organization policy.

If organizations can coerce laborers, either directly or through corporations, then they will soon become like politicians, relying on force and corruption instead of wisdom and integrity for their influence and power. It is the bane of American politics to-day that the so-called leader is an organization dictator. He exercises his power more by the injury he can inflict and the personal rewards he can distribute than by any political wisdom or natural leadership he may possess. The walking delegate, who, happily, is tending to disappear, was largely of this character. The walking delegate first came into existence to fill a legitimate function, but with the power to order strikes and settle disputes he became a despot and often a corruptionist, who was a disgrace to labor and a scandal to the industrial community.

There is nothing abnormal in the amalgamated association desiring to unionize the non-union mills, but that can be properly brought about only by voluntary effort. They have absolutely no right to use coercion, and much less have they any right to coerce the corporations into coercing laborers to unionize.

But there is another aspect of the subject which is scarcely less important: namely, why has the amalgamated association taken this irrational and untenable position? It is not because Mr. Shaffer or his immediate

advisors are vicious; that they want to inaugurate a system of labor despotism or a reign of terror or anything of that kind, nor is it because there is a disposition on the part of even the less well-informed workingmen to exercise an oppressive and coercive authority over their fellows. The simple truth is, this attitude has been slowly taught them, if not forced upon them, by the employers themselves. The principle that whatever succeeds establishes the methods of its own success is as applicable to labor as it is to capital. For many, many years the laborers have had the painful experience of seeing this coercive policy applied to themselves. They have been the victims of the blacklist; they have seen corporations inaugurate lockouts for the purpose of breaking up labor unions. They have seen employers weed out the leaders and ostracise them from the community in order to prevent them from unionizing their laborers. This spirit of coercion against organization, of which they have been the victims, they are now using in favor of organization, and feeling if not saying to the corporations, We are only adopting the same methods you have always employed.

In a candid view of all the facts in the case, it appears that this strike is really a reaction of the coercive policy of the corporations upon the labor unions. The demand of the amalgamated association is not based on any economic claim, but is a determination to use the power of organization to acquire exclusive authority over the labor field by coercive methods. It is a strike to establish a false and pernicious principle, but it is no less clear that this mistaken position and struggle for a false principle and perhaps a dangerous precedent is directly traceable to a similarly false, pernicious, coercive policy long practiced by the capitalists. It is another illustration of how a wrong principle will react. Nothing has been clearer to the student of economic

and industrial tendencies of the last twenty years than that capital should openly and cordially recognize the principle and right of labor organization. By this method they could have exercised a rational and somewhat guiding influence over the union movement. But, instead of doing that, they have antagonized it, often waging war upon it and always treating it with distrust and disrespect. The result of this actual and quasi-persecution of the trade unions by the employing class is that they have grown up with antagonism to, rather than respect for and cooperation with, employing corporations. They have taken on the same spirit and methods employed by the corporations, and now that they are strong they are using these false methods to establish a coercive despotism over the whole labor field.

Whether the strike succeeds or fails, it should teach the corporations the lesson that there is really but one principle that governs the movement of both capital and labor: namely, that both move in the direction of greatest efficiency to accomplish their purpose, and in modern society the means of greatest efficiency is organization. This is as true of the one as of the other, and no more so, and, if capital hopes to be free from the ignorant, dogmatic dictation of organized labor, it must abandon the use of coercive methods toward labor. It is true that two wrongs do not make a right, but it is nevertheless true that one wrong is pretty sure to create another, and it is safe to say that capital will not be permitted to have a monopoly of wrong methods.

Here, as in every other sphere of life, if we would have freedom, we must give freedom; if we want our own rights respected we must respect the same rights of others. If corporations hope to enjoy the unmolested freedom of organized action in their own field, they must as freely and unreservedly grant the same right of organization to laborers; not merely in quali-

fied orders but in unqualified action. Until this is done there can be no real harmony.

The unfortunate aspects of the present strike demonstrate the necessity of what ultimately must come,—a mutual union in which both capital and labor are equally represented. The functions of this mutual organization should be absolutely to determine all disputed questions that arise between the corporations and laborers within the district embraced. This proposition has been frequently urged in these pages, and the necessity for it is made more and more apparent with every new strike. With such a third organization, in which the other two were equally represented in good faith, whose decisions should be final, no foolish action of a labor union in any particular mill or arbitrary action of a corporation manager could throw the whole industry into a strike. Any labor union or corporation which refused to accept the decision of this body would lose the support of all outside parties and thus be doomed to certain defeat. Of course this requires the honest recognition, in good faith, of unions by the corporations, and frank unqualified mutual organization on equal terms, so that in the final councils which shall decide all matters of controversy both sides shall stand on exactly the same level and both abide by the decision. It is useless to try to suppress organization on either side. The solution of the problem, which shall prevent performances like the present strike, must come, not by going backwards and suppressing organization but by going forward to a higher form of organization which shall include both on a democratic basis of absolute equality. Every effort to fight each other means destruction and disaster to both parties and to the public, whereas to take the next natural step forward towards a mutual organization would soon lead to economic harmony and industrial peace.

THE BUILDING OF AMERICAN HIGHWAYS

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH

The influence of the mechanical steed on our civilization is best exemplified in the growth and improvement of the country highways, which, in a country that stretches between two oceans, and includes within its boundary nearly all the climates and physical characteristics of a mighty continent, have been slowly evolved from the almost indistinguishable trail of the pioneer settlers into roads of high engineering skill and achievement. American country roads have lagged in the development of the nation's material growth and expansion until within the past few years. With the exception of the few old post-roads, established in colonial days when the stage-coach was the only vehicle for comfortable travel, there were not more than two or three country highways of passable physical condition, summer and winter, a score of years ago in the United States.

Military roads were the earliest in existence in all countries, and the protective necessity of having different parts of the empire joined together by highways over which an army could be quickly moved inspired most of the great engineering feats in road-building of the past. This factor had little or no influence in American industrial life. Our boundaries did not abut those of other powerful nations with whom we might at any time wage war. Consequently no thought of establishing lines of fortifications, connected by military highways, ever entered the head of our most war-like legislators or presidents. Military roads were not features of our national development, and though po-

tent factors in the growth of many European states they were almost *nil* in American history.

The modern road-building movement is attributed to the bicycle and automobile; but it must be said that it was rather the conditions of the times, which were ripe for the change, that made the popularity of these mechanical steeds. Railroad construction had almost reached its limit; important trunk lines were already paralleling each other so that they cut disastrously into each other's profits; and the most important parts of the country were joined together by the ribbons of steel. Railroad stocks were declining in value; profits were being reduced; and capital was chary of investing in new enterprises of this character. What the country needed was more feeders—country roads leading from farms, mines, and producing lands. For months in the year the great agricultural sections were shut off from the railroads by almost impassable country roads. Mills and manufacturing plants located on streams of water that furnished excellent motive power could not market their products in winter. The logging camps and the mining companies were likewise helpless in winter. Thus for a good portion of the year the country's commerce was paralyzed, and the producing centers were cut off from the world.

We rapidly grew into a nation of cities as a consequence. There was little attraction in the country except in the summer season. Impassable muddy roads made rural life disagreeable in the extreme. Even the small villages suffered and dwindled in numbers and population. In the cities stone pavements defied the mud and storms of winter; and thither our population flocked, building for themselves habitable places where they would not be shut indoors for months at a time.

The bicycle, and later the automobile, spread a propaganda of good road-building at a time when con-

ditions were ripe for a mighty change, and the fire that smouldered for a time soon broke forth into flame. There was need of better highways to improve trade, to develop the country, and to add to our appreciation of country life. With the new movement there commenced a counter-current in the trend of our population cityward. The country was improved by good roads so that people who had been shut up in the city now longed to return to the less artificial life in small towns and villages. Rural existence suddenly received new charms, and with the extension of good highways there sprung up handsome rural homes and estates. The love for country life has suddenly developed so that it marks a new era in our existence. It is not that our cities are less prosperous, or that they will cease to grow in size and wealth; but that the country is better appreciated as a place of residence, and that it has been made so by the better roads.

The federal government has always advocated road improvements in a general way; but it has never felt the necessity of constructing highways for military or other national purposes. Early in the present century when our country was beginning to extend its civilizing influence westward, and before the railroad-construction era had started, a few statesmen undertook to engineer a great national highway from the seaboard to the West under the direction of the government. It was believed that national highways built by the government would open up the resources of the country as no private enterprise could ever hope to do, and work was actually begun in 1806 on the national highway that was to follow the valley of the Potomac, cross the Alleghanies, and descend the Ohio to Wheeling, and then go on to St. Louis. If this work had ever been finished it would have represented an achievement in

road-building that would have eclipsed anything else in the world in size and importance.

But the national highway was soon abandoned, and though efforts were several times made to revive it little encouragement was offered. Railroad construction soon followed and spread to all parts of the country, and absorbed the surplus talent and brains of the land. The states and counties made a few feeble and ineffectual attempts to develop and build common highways, but for the most part they were allowed to grow according to accident. In 1895 there were some 1,300,000 miles of common roads in this country, and for the most part they were all the outgrowth of accident and chance. They developed from the old paths and trails of the first settlers, winding in many instances in curiously sinuous courses without apparent reason or purpose. Successful improvements had been made on them, but these were of the most primitive and unskilled kind. For several months in each year they were impassable, and this condition lost to the country annually about \$600,000,000, according to the estimates of the road-inquiry bureau organized about that time to make investigations.

It may be said that, even within five years of the end of the nineteenth century, we had no good roads in the United States, and that we were annually losing through their bad condition more than the railroads of the country were making in actual profits. With such earning capacities, the common roads soon attracted general attention, and it is officially estimated that those built scientifically have since paid at least forty per cent. on the investment. This enormous dividend has been due to the unlocking of great inland resources, to the attraction of capital to agricultural and mineral lands, to the development of forestry interests, and to the improvement of rural property as residential sites. Innumerable minor advantages naturally accrued to

those who owned property along the lines of improved highways.

The original cost of highways in this country was unusually large, both because of inexperience and the insufficient supply of the right material. Different systems had to be adopted in various parts of the country on account of physical conditions that prevailed, and the road engineer found that the problems were in nearly every state to be solved independent of those relating to other sections. Some of the earlier roads in New Jersey cost as high as \$8,000 per mile, and the average was between \$6,000 and \$7,000. In Massachusetts the cost ranged all the way from \$5,000 to \$7,500 per mile, and in New York State the range was from \$3,000 to \$5,000.

In recent years the cost of road-building has been greatly reduced because of improved road machinery and a better system of securing stone for the foundations. The supply of stone suitable for macadam and telford roads was one of the earliest and most important factors in the question, and to-day it determines the cost more than the actual physical properties of the highway designed. Roads have been constructed in New York state through rough regions, where the stone could be had for the cost of mining, at a cost of \$400 and \$600 per mile. Proper machinery for mining and preparing the stone, and for laying and grading the road-bed, were in these instances owned by the townships, and the cost of labor was thus reduced to the lowest minimum.

The transportation of stone for road-building has been a subject of endless inquiry; but most of the railroads show their sympathy with the states and counties by offering to carry stone for such purposes at unusually low rates. The railroads benefit from improved highways fully as much as any other corporations. Good

roads make good feeders for them. More freight comes their way over good roads than over bad; and a suburban population is built up over a line that is intersected by good country highways. The cost of moving stone for road-building purposes amounts to about two mills per ton per mile, or, for carrying 2,000 pounds one hundred miles, just twenty cents.

Systematic efforts to reduce the cost of road-building have resulted in improvements of methods and machinery. These have cheapened the work so that highways which cost \$5,000 and \$6,000 per mile five years ago can be duplicated for all practical purposes to-day at an average cost of \$3,000 and \$4,500. This reduction will continue to extend as methods of building and transportation are better understood. The practical road engineer meets with problems in different parts of the country that are just as puzzling as any met with in mining or irrigation engineering. In the South and Southwest there are physical conditions unlike anything else in the country. Stones are scarce and expensive, the soil soft and muddy, and the rainy season long and disastrous. In the wet season water settles over the common country roads, making them impassable for many months. Corduroy roads have been built in those sections, which in a primitive way overcame the worst of the physical conditions; but engineers have steadily rejected this method as a mere makeshift. Several thousands of miles of good roads have been constructed in the South by building the road-bed sufficiently high to prevent water from covering it, and then digging trenches in the middle for tile drains or rough stone boxes. This method is carried into the farming districts by plowing two deep furrows where the cartwheels go, and filling them in with loose field stones, gravel, and other hard substances. By topping off the whole with fine stones or gravel, the

roads proved passable during the whole of the year. Thousands of square acres of rich mining and agricultural land have been opened up to profitable exploitation in this way in the last few years.

Forestry and good roads are closely associated together in the future development of this country. The forestry division of the department of agriculture has some 50,000,000 acres of forest land under its control, and the systematic cultivation of these woods is dependent for profit upon road-building. Forests that are inaccessible have no commercial value. By running a road through the woods so the timber can be easily transported to market, the trees immediately assume a value that can be measured only by the cost of transportation and the fertility of the soil and method of culture. Forest roads are the most primitive that the engineer is called upon to construct, and yet they pay some forty per cent. on the investment where proper forest culture is pursued. With proper roads constructed through the forest regions of the country, fully 50,000,000 acres of valuable wood land would be thrown open to the markets, and the timber cut therefrom would add greatly to the world's supply. As the denudation of our forests continues it is estimated that within the next twenty-five years such forest roads will have to be constructed in order to avert a timber famine. Thus it is that forestry and road-making are closely related to each other, and the development of one will in a general way affect the other.

Road-making machinery has been invented and manufactured in recent years to meet the growing needs of the science. Steam rollers, crushers, sprinklers and cutters are made in every conceivable size and shape, while stone crushers for preparing the foundations for the roads are unique in the history of modern machinery. There are distinct machines and tools

manufactured for macadam and asphalt road-making, and through the ingenuity displayed in this line the cost of hand labor has been reduced more than one-half. Owing to improved repairing machinery for asphalt roads in towns and cities, the cost of keeping these street pavements in condition has been reduced more than fifty per cent. in the last five years.

Road-making machines and tools represent an important manufacturing industry in this country that has a total capitalization of tens of millions of dollars. Originally the few road-making machines were manufactured by the companies engaged in making agricultural implements, but the industry has long since outgrown that, and is to-day an independent one. The manufacture of these machines gives employment to several thousand skilled mechanics and workmen. With the invention of improved road machines for constructing better highways in this country, there has grown up an export demand for these implements, which promises to prove of great commercial value. Last year half a million dollars' worth of road machines and tools were exported, some of them going to distant Australia and even South Africa. The needs of a new country are very different from those of an old, and even in road-making this is emphasized. European countries have fewer wide stretches of territory where rough country highways unlock regions rich in natural resources than the United States, South America or South Africa. The roads are already built and perfected there, and the road machinery needed must be of a different character from that required to break rough trails and wagon roads and put them in good shape. American road machines are consequently better adapted for new countries where scientific road-building is just beginning than the more delicate machines made in Europe. The exhibits of American road machines

at the Pan-American Exposition show to the spectator more clearly than anything else the remarkable interest manifested in this new industry.

Common road-building in the United States is clearly divided into distinct classes, which engineers recognize according to their cost of construction. The asphalt and macadam roads of cities and towns represent the highest extreme of perfection reached in the art of road-building. Millions of dollars have been invested in these fine streets and highways in the past five years. The automobile and bicycle have stimulated the construction of such thoroughfares, but probably the love for fine stretches of pavement in the average pedestrian and householder has had more to do with the growth of the work. Asphalt pavement has extended rapidly in popularity in this country since it was first introduced in Washington in 1876 as the result of a congressional commission's investigation of the most desirable pavement for the capital's streets. In that year Pennsylvania Avenue was paved with asphalt, and it has since become the standard pavement for residential districts in most of our leading American cities. In 1896 asphalt was used by more than 100 cities, and in all over 1500 miles of pavement was laid with it. Since then it has been laid at the rate of 200 miles per year, and in the last year nearly 5,000,000 square yards, or about 300 miles of street pavements, were laid with asphalt. This brings the total street asphalt mileage in this country to something like 2,300 miles.

Next to asphalt the best forms of macadam are employed the most extensively. This is the favorite in towns and villages, and for wide highways stretching between populous centers. The best grade of macadam roads in this country cost as high as \$10,000 per mile; but that is for very wide roads. The cost of the highway depends upon its width and the quality of the

stone used. The grading also proves an important factor in parts of the country where the topography is rough and uneven. The popularity of the best macadam roads has increased so that in such states as New Jersey and Massachusetts nearly all the important towns and cities are connected by wide, commodious macadam highways, over which vehicles can travel with ease summer or winter. In both of these states millions of dollars have been spent in building the finest macadam roads found anywhere, and the trend of the population to settle along the lines of these highways shows that the expenditures were fully justified. Real estate values have advanced fifty per cent in many localities simply through the building of such highways. There is a distinct recognition of this in many suburbs where expensive roads and highways have been built to attract new residents.

The road engineer is a necessary factor in our rural development to-day, which places him much in the position of the railroad surveyor and engineer of a quarter of a century ago. Road-building has passed from the hands of the farmer into those of the scientific road engineer. As a result the construction of the new highways is gradually revolutionizing conditions in the towns and country. The roads are built for permanent use, and with a view to ultimate economy. The maintenance of such roads must always be considered, and to reduce this cost to the minimum the construction must be varied according to the character and nature of the country. One type of road was formerly always built in the country, and, while in some favored localities it answered the purpose well enough, in others it proved of little real value. Each year the cost of repairing it almost equalled the initial cost of constructing it. The economy was consequently not visible, even though the original cost was low.

The saving effected through the construction of scientific roads which can be kept in good running condition at small annual expense would more than pay for the full cost of road-building of half a century ago. This saving is not always apparent at first, for the first cost seems to overshadow all other considerations in the minds of the short-sighted economists. It took two decades of agitation to convince most of the residents of rural districts that it was more profitable to build good roads under the direction of road engineers than to rebuild and repair the old dirt roads after a fashion in vogue since the beginning of things. The greatest triumph in the movement may be said to be the complete education of the farmers to a proper appreciation and understanding of the whole question of scientific road-building.

Thus the road engineer has gradually created a new industry in this country in the past ten years. His profession is one that offers extensive inducements in many directions, and bright minds find employment therein for talents that are of the highest order. Communities all over the country are awakening to the fact that road-building is a science just as much as railroad engineering or bridge construction, and that roads cannot be built by those not thoroughly familiar with the question. The mere placing of broken stones on a roadbed and rolling them in does not produce a good road any more than the piling up of dirt in a continuous bank produces a good roadbed for the steam engine and cars. There is workmanship of a highly technical character that counts, and a scientifically trained mind must meet new conditions and adapt the road to different needs and circumstances.

ECONOMICS IN THE PUBLIC SCHOOLS*

Human progress is measured by the degree in which experience is converted into helpful knowledge. It is the function of science to reduce this knowledge to working principles, and of education to present these principles in teachable form. There is no important feature of civilization, in religion, ethics, art, science, economics or politics that has been or could have been accomplished by any one generation. It is all the result of successive contributions of succeeding generations, through converting the experience of one into helpful knowledge for the next.

While this work is constantly going on in numerous forms, the institution which to-day must be more than ever relied upon to render this important service to society is the public school. The efficiency of the schools in rendering this service depends largely upon the extent to which the knowledge they impart is applicable to the conduct and conditions of existing generations. As Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler aptly puts it:

"The first question to be asked in any course of study is, Does it lead to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization? If not, it is neither efficient nor liberal."

It is no part of my purpose to detract from the value of any part of the public curriculum, but rather to plead that social economics should have a place in the public schools. It will be conceded that in our system of public education those subjects have the greatest claim to consideration which most directly lead to the character-making conditions of life. Nor will it be questioned that this may change with the progress of society. For instance, it is easy to understand that in the middle

*Address delivered by Mr. Gunton before the National Educational Association, Detroit, July 11, 1901.

ages, when the common people were outside the pale of social and political recognition, no education was necessary for the masses. That which was necessary, being mostly for the clergy, might well be of a theological and classical character. Latin and Greek and abstruse theological doctrines were, of course, the chief requirements of the only educated class. But, as society developed and industry became an important factor in public affairs, education must needs take a broader sweep. Hence, with the rise of manufactures and commerce it became necessary to extend education to the middle class.

As social life and institutions became more complex, a greater extent and variety of knowledge became necessary if the future was to have the benefit of the past and progress to continue. So, with the birth to social consciousness of what Laselle called the fourth estate, it became necessary to extend education to the common people. Under democratic institutions, where the very form of government and conditions of industry are within the political control of the masses, education through the common schools becomes a matter of paramount importance to civilization itself,—of greater importance even than education in the higher institutions of learning, because the common school touches nearly all the children in the land and touches them at the most malleable period. It touches them at a time when impressions are most easily made and often most lasting. It touches them when they are most ready to believe, most willing to accept as authoritative whatever reaches them through the formal machinery of the school.

The progress of the last quarter of a century has radically changed the importance of economics as a public-school study. Fifty years ago, for instance, when we were chiefly an agricultural country, with but

little domestic manufacture, the industrial problems and social questions growing out of them were comparatively simple, but during the last thirty years this has all changed. We have become dominantly a manufacturing nation; our progress in this direction is unparalleled in the history of mankind. During the last thirty years our manufacturing industries, measured by the value of the output or of the domestic *per capita* consumption, have increased many times faster than the population. This has given us exceptional advancement in material and social welfare; which in time has brought a tremendous urbanization of our population, with new social problems like the sweatshop, the housing of the poor, the question of sanitation, of public charity and many other quasi-economic and social problems growing out of city conditions.

On the other hand this progress has brought with it a radical change in the organization and character of industrial enterprise. The once small individual concerns have been supplanted by corporations, and corporations have been superseded by syndicates, or so-called "trusts." These two sets of circumstances have created two new groups of social problems which are injecting themselves into the institutions of the country. Therefore, intelligent citizenship to-day involves a much higher standard of intelligence and broader comprehension of public questions than fifty years ago.

Moreover, all this material and social progress, which has carried with it the spirit of individual independence, has made the ill-informed citizen a more dangerous element in the community than he was half a century ago. The growth of large industries and immense individual wealth has created not only in the mind of the laborer but of the economic laymen generally a feeling of distrust. They come to view all with whom they are in more or less competitive relation, and

especially the rich employing class, as their enemies and the enemies of public welfare. When they enter the field of activity as citizens, whether in municipal, state or national affairs, they are dominated by this suspicious feeling which frequently amounts to a social prejudice. They look with distrust upon public officials, and the whole system of administration to them appears in the light of an instrument in the hands of the rich to govern society in their own interest. Nor is this altogether surprising when they see those who should be leaders of public opinion exercising the power of political dictators, buying and selling nominations for public office, blackmailing business corporations under the pressure of coercive legislation, and through the power thus acquired corrupting the very sources of our political institutions. By these means in not a few instances a small coterie control the government of large cities and even states, and sometimes even the president of the United States is the victim of this unwholesome power.

In reply to a suggestion that political parties should do more educational work between elections, with the view of having intelligent voters, the chairman of a political county committee wrote me: "We find it works very much better to secure what we want by direct purchase than by furnishing literature." This situation has done much to beget in the public mind the belief that the rich are corrupting our government, dictating the public policy, and tending to convert democracy into an oligarchy.

On the other side of the same picture are the city problems to which I have already referred. There they see the poor ill-housed, huddled in unwholesome quarters under quasi-pestilential conditions. Poverty, vice and the accompanying social degradation follow in their train. To this picture the revolutionist can point as one of the consequences of the great capitalistic

movement and appeal to the masses to overthrow the existing industrial system and adopt socialism as the only remedy.

One of the greatest safeguards against this threatened disruption of society is the public schools. At present, for the great army of youths who go from the public schools to the workshop, there is no mental preparation for intelligently dealing with these subjects. They are left to jostle against their fellows in the workshop, hear and feel the causes for discontent; they read the inflammatory and sensational stuff in the newspapers, listen to the more or less acrimonious discussion of social questions in their shop meetings and organizations, and all without the slightest background of educational preparation for forming rational judgments. The very natural result is that their opinions are made up from the feelings and prejudices created by their economic environment. If the public school is to "lead to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization," it must necessarily furnish some mental training on these subjects which lie at the foundation of our social life and furnish the material out of which public opinion is made and public policy is constructed.

This brings us to the practical aspect of the subject and raises the question of feasibility. In pleading for the introduction of economics into the public school, we may expect numerous objections from the traditional pedagogue. It will be urged, with considerable truth, that the public-school curriculum is already overloaded; that instead of the student having more subjects he should have less. It will also be urged that economics is too difficult and complex a subject for the public-school student. It will not be denied that there is force in these objections, yet they might with equal force be applied to very many of the present studies. It may very properly be urged that education should

be mainly directed to developing the mind rather than loading the memory. No education, and particularly that of the public school which stops before the age of sixteen, can furnish the student with much literal information. Indeed, that should not be the principal object. It should rather be the purpose of education to cultivate and develop the powers of observation and reasoning. To teach the student how to see and how intelligently to reason about what he sees is the most that can be hoped for in public-school education, and for that matter in college education either. It is not so much what the student learns at school, but his ability correctly to observe and understand what he sees after he leaves school that is of greatest importance in his education. Whatever there is of value in education, it is as a preparation for seeing and understanding the environment.

It is a knowledge of principles, not a collection of facts, that school education should furnish. The time and ability both of student and teacher are limited. It is, therefore, a question of selecting subjects, the study of which will best develop the mental powers of the student. That the curriculum is already too full may be admitted without in the least diminishing the claim for giving economics a place. Teachable subjects are numerous enough to make the curriculum many times as large as at present. In making up the curriculum, therefore, it is necessarily a question of selecting those subjects which will best serve the purpose of educational training for the average citizen. If there are two subjects of equal merit as regards mental training, and one of them leads directly to the live interests with which the student will have to deal as a citizen, and on which his personal welfare and the welfare of the community depends, and the other leads only to the study of a dead language and the details of some effete civil-

ization having only the remotest relation to the live affairs of to-day, there ought to be no difficulty in deciding which subject should be taken. That subject which leads to a knowledge of the affairs of modern life has a double claim, for besides affording an opportunity for mental training it furnishes preparation for useful citizenship. Besides affording a high degree of mental training, economics gives life to the study and social equipment to the student.

Economics is preeminently a logical subject. It has to do with principles and deductions. It constantly calls the reasoning faculties into action and it is preeminently the study that inspires observation. A study of the principles of wages or prices or rent or banking supplies its own incentive for observing these phenomena. It is both more important and more effective as a mental training than the study of history even, and far be it from me to belittle the study of history. But in comparing the claims for mental training of history and economics as a subject, the superiority of economics is obvious. Even if we avoid the method of teaching history which takes note chiefly of battles, royal coronations and court feuds, and direct the studies entirely to the important industrial, social and political events arising out of the progressive struggles of the people for improvement, it still remains chiefly a matter of memorizing. It is indeed of some consequence that the student know about the Norman conquest, the magna charta, the statute of laborers, the bill of rights, the declaration of independence, the surrender of Cornwallis and the civil war, but it is far more important that the masses know what determines their wages, how improvements in industrial conditions are brought about, and what effect capital has upon the industrial welfare of the community. If they know something of the fundamental principles that govern their industrial and

social welfare, they will have an intelligent appreciation of the significance of these historical events. But if they are ignorant of economic principles, these historic events are of little educational significance.

Clearly, in furnishing mental training for the youth of the nation, and especially the youth that have but a limited share of educational opportunity, training should be given in the subjects which lead most directly to an acquaintance with the affairs of real life, thus at once affording the double purpose of mental training and preparation for social usefulness.

If it be objected that economics is too difficult a subject for the public-school student, we have only to compare it with some of the other subjects already in the curriculum. We find there astronomy, mathematics, chemistry, principles of hygiene, etc. If these are not too complex for the public-school student, and obviously they are not so regarded, then economics cannot be objected to on that score, for it has the advantage over all of these of being less abstract and of dealing with more familiar objects and conditions and matters of greater personal and social interest than any of the others except, perchance, hygiene.

The chief difficulty in teaching economics in the public schools thus far is in the unpreparedness of the teachers and the clumsy methods of teaching. Usually the teachers have had practically no preparation in the subject. They know nothing of the essential principles of economics. They are expected to take that subject along with mathematics and English, and perhaps Greek and Latin. Knowing practically nothing of the subject, they rely entirely on the text-book, and the text-books are mostly written for just such teachers and consequently contain little or nothing of the principles of the subject, but furnish a budget of facts. Thus the teacher adopts the hardest and least effective

way: namely, sets the student to memorizing a lot of to him meaningless facts instead of helping him to understand a few elementary principles, and makes what might be an attractive study a dry wearisome tax. Besides being much harder for the student it is far less effective in developing a flexible mentality.

This comes partly of the habit of confounding teaching with investigation. Investigation is to discover principles; teaching is to impart them. The methods for the two are wholly unlike. The inductive method of investigation is to discover, verify and classify facts, and then from a careful analysis of these verified phenomena deduce the law or principle. In teaching, the reverse method is the effective one: namely, to give the principle and then confirm or verify it by reference to facts. This gives the student the key to observation and verification all through life. Having learned the principle which governs the movement of the planets, he can by reading and observation understand the planetary system, but he could never have found the principle by any observation he could make. Hence, in the absence of the principle, he would be subject to superstitious conclusions.

It is the function of the scientist to discover the principle by scientific study of the facts, but it is the function of the teacher to give the principle to the student in the simplest intelligible form; in other words, give to the student what science has discovered and verified, and illustrate and enforce it with as frequent reference to facts as possible, always taking the facts that are nearest to the interest and most vital to the life of the student. It will hardly be claimed that it is more difficult to understand the simple principle that wages in a given market, like water in a lake, tend to a level, which level is high or low according to the character and social life of the laborers, than it is to under-

stand the principle of the formation of gases or the solution of problems in geometry. Yet, how wonderfully more important to the average citizen to understand the principle which governs the income of more than three-fourths of the population. An intelligent conception of a few elementary principles like this in economics would be worth more to the citizens, and hence to the nation, than all the knowledge of Greek, Latin, and perhaps even history, that is taught. Not that these subjects are not important, but as compared with the study of economics and its relation to educational preparation for citizenship, they are manifestly inferior. With the mental preparation for intelligent observation and logical reasoning, growing out of the study of the principles of economic and social phenomena, history, literature, political geography, and even the classics, become manifold more significant. The history of Egypt, Greece and Rome, the doings of pre-historic man, and social life under tropical civilization, have but the minimum interest beyond the mere noting of facts, when studied in ignorance of the laws of economics and political development. Indeed, in the absence of knowledge of these laws, such studies are apt to aid superstitious conjectures. In the light of economics these studies furnish an important adjunct to historic knowledge as throwing light upon the early conditions from which the present has been a slow and wonderful evolution. But to take this study of these ancient and not extinct civilizations, with blank ignorance of economic and political subjects, they furnish the very minimum of educational stimulus and utility. From the point of view of educational importance, both in mental training and preparation for social usefulness, economics has an equal claim to any and superior to most subjects now in the public-school curriculum.

But the introduction of economics into the public

schools would call for one important improvement: namely, the raising of the standard of teachers. But that ought not to be regarded as an objection. There is no work performed in this country that is more important than that done by the teachers in our public schools. If we would make education contribute its best to civilization, we must resolve to have the most important subjects taught and taught in the best possible manner by well-paid, competent teachers. There is no expenditure too high if it is not wasted, no talent too good, no system too well equipped or appointments too complete for the public schools of the United States. If the people of this country were only once impressed with this fact, the means would easily be forthcoming. It is only for the teachers and leaders of education to make it clear to the American people that in the public schools lie the means of the progress and safety of our institutions, and that the way to make the most of the public schools is to pay the price that will command the best teaching talent, and there will be little difficulty in adjusting the curriculum to the needs of the age. No excuse will be accepted for cramming children with dead subjects instead of rising to the level of vitalizing our educational system with the new and live subjects that lead directly "to a knowledge of our contemporary civilization." In the question of education, as in everything else in life, the demand creates the supply. Let the educators demand a live curriculum, a higher standard of teachers with adequate salaries, and the public school will be the ever-broadening bulwark of progressive industry, free institutions and democratic civilization.

A CENTURY OF AMERICAN INVENTION

LEON MEAD

The patent system of the United States was the inspiration of Thomas Jefferson and his pet hobby for many years. Founded by an act of April 10, 1790, it has been in practical operation ever since. In the development of our material wealth it has been a greater factor than any other belonging to our public service; for at least nine-tenths of our people are affected by the interests with which the patent office directly or indirectly deals. It would require a large volume in which merely to epitomize its influence on the growth of our national industries, to tell of its losses by two destructive fires and to give the various enactments which have modified the system itself.

The purpose of this article is briefly to point out the manner in which certain inventions have infinitely multiplied the world's commerce, lessened the burdens and increased the comfort of the human family, and, what is often denied, *increased and enlarged the opportunities of labor*. Within the unprecedented century just closed the results of well-directed inventive genius have been almost incredible. The horse-power machinery which, within the memory of living men, supplanted the primitive flail in separating grain, has in turn been largely superseded by the wonderful steam-power thresher and separator. Less than one hundred years ago, Charles Newbold of New Jersey patented the first iron plow. For a long time people regarded it with distrust. Many went so far as to declare that by using such a monstrosity, as they called it, the soil would be poisoned. Were Charles Newbold alive to-day, with what awe he would study the appliances

which increase the acreage of the farmer and triple his harvest.

To demonstrate the material benefits of American patents to the agriculturist, we have but to compare the rude inventions of Obed Hussey and others of sixty-five years ago, which however are the precursors of the modern mower and harvester, to the cord-binder which automatically passes a cord around each bundle of grain, cuts the cord and discharges the bundle in one operation; or to the still later evolved reaper which, as it gathers the straw binds it with its own wisps—thus saving the cost of thousands of yards of twine, which, on the vast areas of the West amounts to large sums of money in the aggregate.

No realm of human activity has been ignored by our inventors, and it may truly be said that they have met nearly all the requirements of modern civilization. Improved plumbing, new sanitary drainage systems, paving, and other hygienic inventions, are shown to have actually reduced the death rate 5.79 per thousand people in the city of New York, thus representing a saving of several thousand lives yearly.

Our own people have invented most of the so-called labor-saving machinery perfected within the last seventy-five years. That phrase, labor-saving machinery, has produced many misconceptions and fallacies among our people. In one sense it is a misnomer and very misleading to those who do not probe under the surface of the subject. Many persons think that this kind of machinery drives the laborer out of employment. No more erroneous theory was ever trumped up. For labor-saving machinery absolutely enhances the chances of labor and this assertion may be illustrated by countless examples.

Nor should it be forgotten that inventions recorded in the United States patent office are the foundation

upon which are based the vast majority of our manufacturing industries. This statement cannot be truthfully controverted. Commissioner Charles H. Duell aptly says in one of his annual reports to congress: "The United States can only become dominant in the markets of the world through labor-saving inventions which will enable it to compete with the lower wages paid to the so-called working classes in other countries. The greatest development in American exports must be in the direction of increase in the export of manufactures. I assert, without fear of contradiction, that we mainly owe to our patent system such foothold as we have gained during the past fifty years in foreign lands for our manufactured products."

American inventors have contributed more to the prosperity of this country than any other class. Their inventions and improvements have prodigiously widened the scope of production and furnished the primary agencies by the employment of which our manufacturing interests have reached their present magnitude. Immeasurably more has the public profited and been benefited by these inventions than the men whose brains produced them. Every section and all classes have cause to be thankful for what inventive genius has done. It is an old foggy and mistaken notion that inventions have decreased the wages of workingmen and ruined manual labor. On the contrary, they have augmented both. Lessened prices and increased consumption are the two salient points most frequently lost sight of by those who inveigh the loudest against modern methods of doing business. While the printing press of to-day is an example of a machine which does the work of hundreds of men, it must be remembered that were those hundreds of men required to produce a single modern newspaper their wages would soon sug-

gest to the proprietors of that journal the pecuniary feasibility of "shutting up shop."

The Boston tailors who refused to give Elias Howe their support, arguing that the use of his sewing-machine would ruin their business, were totally misled by selfish alarm. For during the period from 1850—when the sewing-machine was first introduced—to 1870 the number of tailors increased more than one hundred per cent.; while the population increased but sixty-five per cent. Fifty thousand or more people were employed in the manufacture and sale of sewing-machines during those twenty years, not to mention the thousands that have been thus engaged since 1870. The saving of drudgery in millions of homes and factories effected by the sewing-machine is beyond computation; but it certainly has been enormous. The general introduction of the locomotive between 1850 and 1870, instead of decreasing the number of common carriage and wagon makers, increased the latter two hundred per cent. in those two decades.

Hon. Carroll D. Wright, conceded to be one of the ablest statisticians in America, lends his authority to the following concise and significant opinion: "There has been no debasement of humanity by the substitution of machinery for human labor, and there is no danger in such substitution. Machinery has not helped to create new and tremendous inequalities in society or turned thousands into tramps and vagabonds, or hardened the natural selfishness of men in any way, as it is so often asserted. It has been the means of reducing the work day from twelve or fourteen hours to nine or ten hours, and the inevitable result will be the still further reduction in the time necessary for the earning of a living. It has not only shortened the work day; it has also increased the remuneration of labor."

Again, he says: "Statistics show that in those

countries where manufacturing industries have been developed with the greatest success a larger proportion of the people are employed than in those countries where mechanical industries do not prevail. This could not be the case if the introduction of machinery had deprived men of labor."

Machinery always revolutionizes human conditions for the better, by shifting the functions and elevating the character of man labor. Science is sweeping away the humblest classes of employment and relieving humanity of beast-like toil. In this way she is giving an impetus to the cause of education; for by leaving less and less work to be done by the uneducated laborer she puts skill and training at a premium. The working classes themselves often curse the progress of invention and look upon it as no friend to their welfare. But if they paused to think they would realize that "society has always to travel to permanent good through transitory ills."

Though there be some personal sacrifices, humanity as a whole is the gainer by the transference of occupations, which promotes generations if not individuals. For, as a scientific English writer has said, "while science takes away with one hand it liberally bestows with the other; but what it takes away are the low-class occupations, and what it gives are the high-class ones."

A silent bitterness of feeling and suffering among a relatively limited class of toilers may attend the introduction of a new invention; but violence, once so common and which amounted to machine-breaking frenzies, is now unknown. If typesetting machines did away with an army of compositors, there was a time when compositors replaced an army of manuscript copiers; and who knows but that in the not distant future other processes of communication, now vaguely

hinted at, may render obsolete this great machine which casts type while it is being set? Thus compensating influences are ever at work all along the line. Look at the callings to-day which had no existence three score years ago, and the thousands employed in them—the railroad and steamboat men, the draughtsmen, the journalists, the chemists, the stenographers and typewriters (over 500,000 women are thus employed in the United States), and the host of skilled men demanded by the invention of the telephone, the electric light and the bicycle. The ranks in these new callings have increased a hundred fold, while the population has barely quadrupled. One-third of the male population in this country of the present day find their livelihood in pursuits that were undreamed of a century ago.

Of course, the stevedore, thrown out of work by the introduction of the steam crane, cannot expect to jump into one of the newly-created callings, but he will find that the world still has menial labor to assign to him. Perhaps the best that he can hope for is that his sons will choose or drift into more dignified vocations, while he fills the lower gaps here and there. For many a man there should be a crumb of consolation in Mr. Wright's optimistic dictum that "the rich are growing richer, many more people than formerly are growing rich, and the poor are growing better off." He should grasp, too, the full import of Charles Barnard's remark that "work and science are for the making of the nation. The American genius saves labor, not that he may be idle, but that he may be free to undertake new labors that shall benefit himself." It is out of the question to be exact, but Gladstone once said that the energy of the entire population of the earth had been duplicated by machinery. Not less than three million workmen operate the machinery in the United States, which represents at least five million horse power. To

perform the labor done by these machines would require not less than twenty-five million people, which would represent a population of one hundred and fifty millions, or double the entire number of the inhabitants of the country.

In a recent article in the *Century*, Mr. E. V. Smalley points out that "the most important relation of patents is not so much to manufactured articles as to the machinery which makes them. Here the consumer is directly benefited. He pays less for the fabric, not more, because the loom has been perfected by patented appliances. Patented machinery has reduced the cost of almost every article of daily use. The examiners in the patent office will tell you that the class from which inventions mainly come is that of men engaged in the working of machinery, who are constantly thinking out improvements." The substitution of machinery for the hand has made possible our present vast factory systems employing thousands of workers and furnishing necessities and luxuries alike at prices that would have amazed the citizen of 1800. Out of it have grown these marvelous statistics: In 1899 there were 904,633 miles of wire in use in this country for telegraphic purposes; to-day we have 772,989 miles of telephone wire in use, connected with 465,180 stations and answering 1,231,000,000 calls a year; also 170,950 miles of submarine cables, all laid since the first cable, Cyrus Field's great achievement, was laid, in 1857. More than one thousand electric street-car lines are in operation in the United States, with a capitalization of \$1,700,000,000. Verily this is the age of electricity and steel. In the United States there are half a million arc lights and about twenty million incandescent lights, the latter being equivalent in light-giving capacity to 320,000,000 candle tips such as they used in 1800. Bewildering as

these figures are they have a romantic side which needs the pen of a Kipling to exploit.

The following is a limited list of Americans whose inventions have insured our industrial supremacy:

Amos Whittemore, Barton H. Jenks and Erastus B. Bigelow as to looms; Oliver Evans as to milling machinery; E. I. Dupont de Nemours as to gunpowder; Thomas Blanchard as to lathes for turning irregular forms; Asa Spencer as to geometrical lathes; Peter Lorillard as to tobacco-making; Ira Ives, Eli Ferry, Noble Jerome and Chauncey Jerome as to clocks; Jethro Wood as to iron plows; Eliphalet Nott and Jordan L. Mott as to stoves; Samuel W. Collins and Elisha K. Root as to ax-making; Matthew W. Baldwin and Ross Winans as to locomotives; Jesse Reed as to nail-making; Samuel Colt, Ethal Allen, Christian Sharps, Edmund Maynard, Christopher M. Spencer, Rollin White, Horace Smith and Daniel P. Wesson as to firearms; Richard M. Hoe, Isaac Adams, Stephen P. Rugles, Andrew Campbell, Moses S. Beach and G. P. Gordon as to printing-presses; William Edwards as to leather-making. John J. Howe and Chauncey Crosby as to pin-making; Alonzo D. Phillips as to friction matches; Thaddeus Fairbanks as to scales; Henry A. Wells as to hat-making; Oliver Ames as to shovels; Charles Good-year, Nathaniel Hayward and Horace H. Day as to india-rubber; William Woodsworth as to wood-making; William P. Ketchum and Cyrus McCormick as to mowers and reapers; John Ericsson as to naval construction and hot-air engines; S. F. B. Morse, Royal E. House, David E. Hughes and Thomas A. Edison as to telegraphs; Elias Howe, Jr., Allen B. Wilson, Isaac M. Singer, J. E. A. Gibbs, William O. Groves and William E. Baker as to sewing-machines; Jonas Chickering, Henry Steinway and Albert Weber as to pianos; Linus Yale as to locks; George Westinghouse as to air-brakes;

Nathan Washburn and Asa Whitney as to car-wheels; Robert Bruce as to type-casting machines; John H. Barnes as to cotton and hay-presses; James J. Mapes as to fertilizers; Cullen Whipple as to wood screws; Henry P. Tatham as to lead pipe; R. P. Parrott as to cannon; Richard J. Gatling as to Gatling guns; Hiram S. Maxim as to rapid-fire guns; John Stephenson as to horse cars; Gail Borden as to condensed milk; Henry Disston as to saws; John A. Roebling as to cables, chains and bridges; Henry Burden as to horseshoe machinery; William and Coleman Sellers as to shafting and iron working; Nelson Stowe as to flexible shafting; Robert L. and Alexander Steward as to sugar refining; George H. Corliss as to steam engines; Thomas A. Edison as to incandescent electric lamps, etc., etc.

The possibilities of American invention are far from being exhausted. Aerial navigation is no longer scouted as an absurd dream of the scientific fanatic. Some modern wizard, within the next decade, may practically solve the problem of artificial flight, for it has been demonstrated that suspension in the air is comparatively simple. The chief difficulty lies in the evolving of an effective steering apparatus for the air-ship. When that is devised the Atlantic liners will not be free from a unique and probably formidable competitor.

In conclusion it may be observed that the patents of American inventors, with some unfortunate exceptions, have been wisely protected by our patent laws. While now comparatively free from politics in its conduct, the patent office is not immune from criticism. The patent laws, in some respects, are very rigid, and the rules of practice require a long course of study, in order to be understood. Several desirable enactments of the existing laws have been proposed, and it is hoped that they will be enacted soon by congress. Another

thing very urgently needed is a new fire-proof building for the exclusive use of the patent office. The present structure, built by piecemeal and without provision for the enormous growth of the business of the office, is entirely inadequate. The clerical force is cramped for room to do their work properly, and there is insufficient space for the housing of the constantly increasing models and archives. The government could well afford to build an edifice which would be a companion piece to the congressional library—something in keeping with the importance and untold utility of this chief adjunct of the department of the interior. The patent office has long been self-supporting, and during its existence has received more than \$40,000,000 in fees. By all means let us have an appropriate and ample structure for this splendid department of our government, which in the sixty-two years from 1837 to 1898 granted 623,535 patents. The inventive genius of our countrymen is not likely to deteriorate for at least another fifty years, if then. On the contrary, it seems more active to-day than it ever was. The current records of the office prove this fact. So much then more reason is there for meeting twentieth-century requirements by having in Washington a patent office at once ornate, commodious and free from hampering obstacles.

JOHN FISKE

In the death of John Fiske (July 4th) the United States lost one of its most brilliant historic and philosophic writers. Mr. Fiske was not an original thinker; he can hardly be said to have been an original investigator, but he had, what was no less exceptional, an extraordinary capacity of seeing the interior truth in philosophic doctrines and historic tendencies and presenting this truth in attractive and intelligible form. It was this faculty which made him preeminent as a lecturer and always in high demand as a writer. He has written many works on American history, none of which are distinguished for any original research but all of which are real contributions to the public knowledge of American history. This is due to his rare faculty of combining the philosophy of history with the narration of data, always seeing the sociological thread running through the historical events and thus conveying ideas as well as facts in all his historic writings.

Yet, it is in the realm of philosophy that Mr. Fiske has made his best mark and for which he will be longest known. Although he was neither a creator of philosophy nor an experimenter in science, he was the great American expounder of both. His power of analysis and generalizing the different schools of philosophy and discoveries of science showed a quality of mind no less remarkable than that required for philosophic creation. His great work in this field was "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy." He was to the doctrine of evolution, including the work of Darwin and Spencer, what Harriet Martineau was to Comte. Harriet Martineau took Comte's six volumes and translated them into two volumes. The work was so lucid and luminous that Comte is said to have regarded it as a

better statement of his philosophy than his own works. in proof of which he had it retranslated into French.

This is essentially true of Fiske's "Outlines of Cosmic Philosophy." It is a better statement of the synthetic philosophy than is contained in the fifteen or more volumes of Herbert Spencer's own writings. The layman can read "Cosmic Philosophy" and get a comparatively clear conception of the doctrine of evolution, which he might never extract from the writings of Mr. Spencer. The difference between the two is that Mr. Spencer's work is a laborious hammering out of the philosophy, often accompanied by a wearisome redundancy of fact and illustration, while Fiske's work is a charmingly lucid and attractive presentation of the philosophic generalization, omitting nothing that is essential and giving nothing that is tedious or unnecessary.

In this great work, for it is a great work, having no equal as an exposition of the synthetic philosophy, Mr. Fiske does not pretend to originality, except perhaps in one particular phase of the subject, namely: the evolution "from gregariousness to sociality." This was a link in the chain of human development which neither Darwin, Spencer nor Wallace had supplied. There was here a gap that could only be supplied by a large and sweeping generalization. It was not clear why the human species should develop the family habit and so establish continuity of social life and affections, any more than other animals which reproduce and raise their young by similar means and show equal if not more intense parental feeling and affection for their young during the short period of parental care.

The explanation of this transition Fiske found in the prolongation of infancy in the human race. He pointed out with great clearness that the general duration of the feelings which insure protection of the off

spring is determined by the duration of the infancy, or helplessness, of the young. All animals are devoted to the interests of their young until the young are able to do for themselves,—whereupon they unceremoniously desert them. In most of the lower animals this raising of the young, and hence the duration of parental affection, exists in short concrete periods which never overlap. That is to say, the young always become sufficiently helpful to be self-sustaining before any fresh young are born, so that there is no connection between one generation of young and the next following. For reasons which Mr. Fiske made quite clear, man, being a more complex and highly developed being, is less perfect at birth and acquires a great deal more by experience with the environment after birth than do less developed animals. Some species of animal life are so physically perfect at birth that they become self-sustaining in a few hours or a few days. The higher the type of organism the longer the process of perfecting the functions, and the less perfect are the functions at birth.

In the case of man, which is the highest type, the period of infancy is much the longest. The period of physical perfection in the human being extends over several years. During this time new members of the family are born and the most helpless infancy reintroduced. Thus the family affections become continuous. Before they are exhausted or broken off with the first they are renewed at the maximum at the birth of a second and third, and so on, and thus the family affection, parental responsibility and social continuity gradually grow up into a permanent system. In fact, the prolongation of infancy of the human race makes the parental and family affection a continuous element throughout the entire range of human life. Around this family affection and responsibility grows the per-

manence of social relations and ultimately societary institutions. As Prof. Fiske says:

"The prolonged helplessness of the offspring must keep the parents together for longer and longer periods in successive epochs; and when at last the association is so long kept up that the older children are growing mature while the younger ones still need protection, the family relations begin to become permanent. The parents have lived so long in company, that to seek new companionships involves some disturbance of engrained habits; and meanwhile the older sons are more likely to continue their original association with each other than to establish associations with strangers, since they have common objects to achieve, and common enmities, bequeathed and acquired, with neighboring families. As the parent dies, the headship of the family thus established devolves upon the oldest, or bravest, or most sagacious male remaining. Thus the little group gradually becomes a clan, the members of which are united by ties considerably stronger than those which ally them to members of adjacent clans, with whom they may indeed combine to resist the aggressions of yet further outlying clans, or of formidable beasts, but towards whom their feelings are usually those of hostile rivalry, . . . The concluding phases of this long change may be witnessed in the course of civilization. Our parental affections now endure through life; and, while their fundamental instinct is perhaps no stronger than in savages, they are, nevertheless, far more effectively powerful, owing to our far greater power of remembering the past and anticipating the future."

This was Fiske's contribution to the doctrine of evolution. Others, like Sir Henry Maine, clearly traced the growth of social institutions from the primitive tribe and clan, but it remained for Fiske to explain the motives and forces which led to the transition from merely gregarious life to the establishment of social habits, out of which the family and social life became continuous and political institutions and modern civilization developed.

It usually occurs that the creator of a philosophy, like the inventor of a new contrivance, is seldom capable of putting it in intelligible or useful form. It remains for the clear-sighted generalizer to popularize the new truth, and this faculty, which Mr. Fiske possessed in a preeminent degree, is scarcely less rare than the creative genius which makes original discoveries,

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

THE WOMEN of Atlanta, Georgia, are organizing a permanent association, with branches throughout the state, to conduct a campaign for restricting child labor in the factories of Georgia. No better work can be done. The unrestricted labor of children in the factories of Georgia, and for that matter North Carolina and other southern states, with no provision for education, is indeed a disgrace not merely to the South but to the United States. It would disgrace the policy of the most despotic country in Europe. Until the employers and statesmen and journals of the southern states rise to the level of actively dealing with this question, their talk about civilization and freedom and democracy is as tinkling cymbals. The true estimate of states and communities, like that of individuals, is not what they say but what they do. "By their fruits ye shall know them," is after all the only real test of character.

THE RUMOR that a large steel plant is to be erected at tidewater near Philadelphia has started the free-trade journals prophesying that this means the abolition of the tariff. The *New York Times* points out that, with free raw materials and factories at tidewater, iron and steel manufactures would be in an excellent condition for foreign trade. Exactly. This would not only be true of iron, but it would also hold with wool and other industries. Free trade would tend to concentrate manufactures on the eastern seaboard and practically prevent their development in the interior of the country, which is exactly what ought not to occur. What we need is the development of the greatest amount of diversified manufactures, not merely at the

seaboard but throughout the entire country. To destroy this means to arrest the growth of manufacturing and make agriculture the chief industry of the interior of the nation. That would practically mean the arrest of the higher phases of our national development.

"THE WORLD DO MOVE." The New York *Sun*, which for years has ridiculed the idea of any reform in our banking system which should abolish the sub-treasury and return to the principle of the old Bank of the United States, has at last seen the error of its ways and is now a pronounced advocate of "a national bank" and denounces the sub-treasury system as a barbarous, wasteful, panic-creating institution. In a recent editorial it says:

"Under this system the cash resources of the government and its surplus revenues as they accumulate are locked up in the vaults of the treasury, where they are of as little use to the business interests of the country who have contributed them as if they were buried in the ground. In every other civilized country of the world, even in Turkey, such a hoarding of government funds has not been tolerated for a century. . . . The present system is unscientific, improvident, wasteful and in every way harmful to a degree that it is almost impossible to exaggerate. It has caused within the last five years several business panics and, unless history is untrue to itself, it will continue to be the seed of panic so long as it exists."

The *Sun* is always a great force for whichever side it is on. The country is to be congratulated upon the fact that it has at last come out on the right side of the currency question and is now an advocate of "putting the treasury and banking system of the land on a stable and scientific basis."

PRESIDENT SHAFFER, of the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers, is reported as saying:

"If the republican party is going to obtain power only to foster institutions that will destroy labor organizations it cannot longer rely on the support of labor. I have always been a republican, but if it comes

to the worst and the administration stands idly by and allows the combine to crush us out of existence, in future I shall be 'all things to all men.' "

If this be true, and we put in the "if," Mr. Shaffer announces that he is going to become a common humbug. To be "all things to all men" is nothing but all-round deception. Nothing could exhibit greater shallowness of leadership than this political utterance. Whenever the leader of a great strike movement begins to lecture the national administration for not coming to its rescue, and threatens to turn the labor vote against it if the strike fails, he thereby proclaims his utter unfitness as a leader of labor. If the labor movement is anything it is economic. If a strike has any claims they are economic. The question between the steel corporations and the amalgamated association is strictly an economic question. It is not for the federal government or for a state government, or for the republican party or the democratic party, as such, to interfere, and any attempt to lug in these political forces throws discredit upon the leadership and smacks very much of demagoguery.

REPORTS FROM Europe indicate a light wheat crop in England and a still lighter crop in the southern provinces of Russia. This may not mean famine, but if true is sure to mean a high price for wheat. We may, therefore, expect to hear within the next few months that J. P. Morgan or John D. Rockefeller has cornered the wheat crop and is robbing the public through the high price of foodstuffs. If the American wheat crop is averagely good our farmers will have a very profitable year. Of course this will be rather bad for Mr. Bryan and his party, because it will once more demonstrate that the price of silver does not govern the price of wheat and that wheat can be high with the gold

standard. But it will be equally fallacious for politicians to pretend that this is due to the gold standard or to the administration. It is simply another illustration of the universal economic law that under competition the price of a commodity in a given market is determined by the cost of supplying the dearest portion continuously demanded. Wheat has a world market, and the price of wheat will be largely determined by the cost of supplying wheat in the country where the crops have been the poorest and the cost per bushel of raising and marketing has been, in consequence, the greatest. If the present crop reports prove true, the cost of producing wheat in England and Russia will fix the world price and our farmers will get the benefit.

ON THE 18TH of May, 1900, the International Association of Machinists and the National Metal Trades Association of employers entered into an agreement which provided among other things that all matters of dispute should be submitted to arbitration before any strike was resorted to. On the 28th of May, 1901, the machinists broke their agreement by ordering a strike against what is known as the "premium" system, adopted by the manufacturers. The machinists were undoubtedly justified on all economic grounds in refusing to adopt the premium system, but they had no justification for breaking their agreement. They should, whatever the consequences, have lived up to their compact with the employers and submitted the case to arbitration. In thus breaking their contract, the engineers have properly forfeited the confidence of the public, regardless of the merits of the case.

At a recent meeting, the manufacturers returned to the old method of insisting that all questions of helpers and apprentices, wages and production, piece-work and time-work and premium-work, should here-

after be determined solely by the employers. This may be paying the laborers back in their own coin, but it is a step backward for the manufacturers. The mistake of the laborers in breaking their contract cannot be remedied by any such foolish return to old methods, by the employers. They might as well learn first as last that even though trade unions do sometimes act foolishly they cannot be stamped out by any high-handed imperious decision by manufacturers. The great steel corporation is now paying the penalty for the folly of this imperious attitude by Frick and Schwab. No matter how foolish the Shaffers may be, it does not justify the Schwabs, and in this step backwards the National Metal Trades Association is simply putting a rod in pickle for its own back.

THE NEW YORK *Sun* seems to have been so deeply embittered by its contest with the typographical union that it is utterly incapable of discussing any strike with fairness. It talks about strikes in much the same hysterical tone that Bryan talks about banks and trusts. In its issue of July 19th, it has a long editorial in which it frantically contends that England is suffering from industrial decline because of the despotism of trade unions:

"The inevitable outcome of such a system, where it is carried out with a completeness now approached in Great Britain, is a reduction of a nation's industry to a dead level of achievement, to a status of Chinese stagnation with respect both to quality and quantity. . . . There could be no better time than the present to answer once for all the question whether American manufacturers of iron and steel will bow their necks to the yoke which their British competitors have long found too heavy to be borne."

There are good reasons for criticising the conduct of the amalgamated association. It can possibly be shown that they are proceeding upon a mistaken idea to establish and enforce a false and pernicious princi-

ple. But this is no justification or excuse or defence for insanely declaring that England is being ruined by trade unions. Such statements, instead of injuring the strikers, tend to show that the commentators on the subject in the *Sun* are too hysterical or too insane rationally to discuss the matter at all. It is nothing short of silly, this prating about England's injury from trade unions. England has suffered nothing from trade unions, but has gained much. Trade unions in England have done foolish things and so have manufacturers, but if the history of trade unions for the last fifty years is summed up it stands for one of the strongest elements of England's industrial and social progress. It has done more for England's industrial supremacy than acres of such editorials would do for public intelligence.

The *Sun's* malicious screeching on this subject is just like the charge of certain croaking pessimists that the progress of cotton manufacture in the South is the result of demands for high wages and short hours in the New England states. Anything that helps to lift the level of material welfare and social life for any group of people in any country never injures the condition of the rest. It is only by these periodic liftings of now one portion and now another, of the people, that the general level of civilization is raised at all. If such papers as the New York *Sun* really succeeded in their opposing policy there would never be any progress at all. The *Sun* seems to be an inveterate enemy of every movement of laborers to improve their condition. This opposition is so indiscriminate that its influence ought to be *nil*.

IN THE JUNE *North American Review*, Prof. J. W. Jenks, of Cornell University, discusses the question: "How Trusts Affect Prices." In arguing that the

Standard Oil Company has not lowered the price of oil, he says:

"It is noteworthy, however, that the rate of fall in prices was very much greater between 1871 and 1881—from 25.7 cents to 10.3 cents, with an average price for the year 1880 of 6.6 cents [8.6] *—than it has been since 1882," when the trust was formed.

That is, to say the least, astonishing from Professor Jenks. Of course the reduction was much greater from 1871 to 1881 than from 1880 to the present. The fall from 1871 to 1881, using the above figures, was 17.1 cents per gallon. If the price had fallen the same amount since 1880 the Standard Oil Company would now be giving the oil away and be giving also $8\frac{1}{2}$ cents with every gallon. It is not difficult for the layman, even, to see that oil that is selling at 8.6 cents cannot be reduced 17.1 cents. It is obvious that both the amount and the proportion of the reduction in price must diminish as the price falls toward zero. Economic improvement in methods and organization may minimize the cost, but they can never abolish cost altogether. But what Professor Jenks seems not to see is that with every decrease in the cost of production the next economy becomes more and more difficult. For instance, it is quite conceivable that very ordinary methods might have reduced the price of oil fifty per cent. when it was 25 cents a gallon, but when it reached 8 cents only the most extraordinary methods could accomplish the merest fraction of reduction. This is well illustrated by the squeezing of a sponge full of water. When the sponge is first taken from a pail of water, a child of five can easily squeeze out more than half of the water in the sponge, because it will ooze out with only the slightest pressure. But to squeeze out half of the remainder would take perhaps ten or twenty times

* This is an error, probably a misprint, as Mr. Thurber's table (quoting Statistical Abstract), to which Professor Jenks referred, gives 8.6. The actual average for the year, however, was 9.12 cents.

as much pressure, and to squeeze out the last drop might take a hydraulic press.

It is much the same with oil. At 25 cents and above, oil was very much like the water in a full sponge. Everything connected with it was loose and crude, and the very slightest economic pressure would reduce the cost. But when the price was below 8 cents, especially below 7, the water was nearly all gone from the sponge and only the extraordinary economies which large capital could produce could squeeze another cent. So that in reality, the productive economies that have lowered the price from 8.6 (or really 9.12) cents in 1880 to 7.5 cents to-day, under conditions of greatly increased cost of production during the last year, imply economic methods much superior to any that were in use from 1863 to 1880.

Correction

Unfortunately, three typographical errors appeared in statistical tables in our July number. The errors are obvious and probably misled no one, yet for the sake of accuracy it is important to make this formal correction.

On page 35, in the "difference" column of the table of steel-rail prices, the differences between foreign and American rails in 1898 and 1901 should read \$4.89 and \$1.22 respectively instead of \$4.98 and \$2.43. In the 1901 case, as well as the 1898, the foreign price is the greater.

On page 43, the percentage of increase in the price of domestic glass in 1901 over 1899 should read "16" instead of "6." The subsequent discussion of the point was based on the correct figure, 16; the error being purely typographical.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Judicial Spirit in Discussions

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am considerably disappointed in what I expected of GUNTON'S as a high-class economic magazine. A judicial spirit in dealing with economic questions will in the end commend itself, to even one's own partisans. There are, as a rule, two sides to a question, and, whether understood or not, some tenable ground for the opposition. The high-class magazine should merit the confidence of all and leave each to profit by the calm judicial statement of fact as seen from the different and various points of view.

J. N. McBRIDE, Cashin, Col.

[Our correspondent apparently regards opinions as synonymous with prejudice, thinking it impossible to have definite ideas without being partisan. GUNTON'S is a magazine of definite views and does not care to be known as anything else, but holds it possible to present positive views without prejudice, unfairness or partisanship. Its uniform practice has been and is to state fairly the other side of every important economic problem it discusses. Its mission is not, however, to state both sides and let it go at that. GUNTON'S MAGAZINE has an editorial policy, based on a general trunk line of

economic principles, and does not pretend or wish to give merely colorless discussions of important questions affecting the national welfare. Its aim, in the broadest educational sense, is not merely to state problems, but so far as possible to throw some light on their wise solution.

At the same time, it cannot be correctly said of GUNTON'S that it is unjust to the views it criticises, or neglects to state an opponent's position fairly. The opposite fact is, we are glad to believe from frequent testimony, one of the magazine's well-recognized characteristics. In our June number, for example, we published a letter from Mr. Edgar L. Davis, Educational Director of the Indianapolis Y. M. C. A., in which he said in part: "I admire GUNTON'S MAGAZINE because it is fair and unbiased, seeking to present the truth for truth's sake. There is no rank fanaticism in it. I trust it will continue to maintain the high regard for the right presentation of public questions which so far has characterized it from the beginning."

This is typical of the bulk of the comments that reach us, along this line. At the same time, we modestly refrain from claiming the crowning merit, as our correspondent evidently regards it, of being innocent of ideas and opinions. We have no expectation of being able to satisfy that ideal of an educational magazine which requires that it shall be careful never to educate.]

The Study Course in Social Economics

DEAN, INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ECONOMICS,

Dear Sir:—I have about completed your course in social economics as well as considerable other study along the same lines, and would be pleased if you would

mail me subjects from which to choose for a thesis, as a test for a certificate.

Your course is remarkable for its clearness, force, boldness and impressiveness. I wish that the attention of everybody could be arrested on the subjects of which the course treats and the manner in which you treat them.

LUTHER SPENCER HULL,
Middletown, Conn.

A Generous Word from Dr. Butler

My dear Professor Gunton,

I have just finished reading your admirable paper on "The Secret of America's Industrial Progress," and write to thank you for its clear and convincing analysis, in popular form, of the causes that have promoted our recent extraordinary commercial expansion.

While writing, let me tell you too how much you contributed to the value of the Detroit meeting of the National Educational Association by your address. The interest which was developed by the discussion of Thursday morning in the subject of economics will not soon pass away from the minds of those who were present.

Cordially yours,
NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER,
Columbia University, New York City.

QUESTION BOX

Relief from the Spoils System

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have been watching very closely your discussion of the Bidwell, Quigg, *et al.* affair, and have been most anxious to know what stand President McKinley would take in the matter. I do not wish to be a pessimist, but after reading your reply to "J. M.," in the July number of your Magazine, I see little hope for any betterment in our politics. It almost seems that the greater the rascal, the greater the reward.

Do you really believe that any relief from the blighting influence of the spoils system is to be expected? I pity our new possessions when they come under the rule of our high-minded (?) spoils politicians.

Please permit me to thank you for the good work you are doing.

C. M. J.

The only hope of relief from this "blighting influence" in our political system must be sought in a better education of public opinion on political affairs. Political indifference is always a usable and sometimes a purchasable quantity under democratic institutions. An intelligent appreciation of public affairs naturally tends to a critical observance of political methods and a higher standard of political morals. Yet the highest public opinion could not be effective against the present spoils system without some practical means by which to correct it. The system of political manipulation now is in the private management of the primaries and nominating conventions. When nominations are once made, party loyalty is appealed to to support the ticket, and it takes a great deal of courage on the part of voters and a great deal of wrong-doing on the part of politicians to induce the believers in the doctrines of one party to break away and vote for the candidates of the other. While they object to the specific evil they

regard the election of the opposite candidate as a still greater evil. This party loyalty, which is largely a loyalty to political ideas and principles, is relied upon by the spoils managers as the saving element to which they can appeal. They blackmail corporations for money, use the money and official patronage to control the conventions, and when caught, on the theory of choosing the lesser evil, appeal to the people to vote the ticket and correct the specific evil afterwards. Thus they outrage the rights of citizens and then appeal to the patriotism of the public to overlook it temporarily while they go and do some more.

It is at this point and in this way that the high-handed buying and selling of offices and coercion of citizens takes place. The remedy for this, in the hands of an intelligent public, is to take this power of nominations entirely away from the politicians and place it in the hands of the people. This can only be done by abolishing the nominating conventions and instituting a carefully devised system of direct nominations by secret ballot, preserving, of course, party autonomy in the nominations. This is a perfectly feasible and practical proposition and ought to be fully established in every state in the union within five years. While this would not give intelligence to citizens, it would at least take this power of dictating nominations, by which the bosses gain control over corporations on the one hand and the government on the other, out of the hands of individual bosses and place it in the hands of the people. Whether better nominations or poorer would then result would depend entirely upon the average intelligence of the voters regarding public questions. The nominations would be as good as the people and would be made by the people, protected from the coercion and corrupting influences that are degrading our political methods to-day.

Reliance on Foreign Markets

EDITOR GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice you say that countries which rely largely on foreign markets will go into a relative industrial decline because other nations are coming to manufacture for themselves. This will doubtless be true in many respects, yet will not some countries always be taking the lead in the making of new and finer products which the others will only come to produce later on, thus making the foreign-market idea entirely practicable as a permanent reliance so long as a nation keeps to the van in its development of new commodities and methods?

W. A.

If it were possible for a nation constantly to create new commodities and practically a monopoly of producing them in sufficient quantities, a permanent reliance upon foreign markets might be possible, but such a thing is scarcely to be imagined. It must be remembered that progress in all nations is toward development of manufactures, and the higher each nation gets the greater its capacity for new diversifications and inventing new appliances; so that, the higher the world's civilization rises the less will foreign markets become a safe exclusive reliance for any country; that is, foreign markets for manufactured products. A purely agricultural country might permanently rely on foreign markets for the sale of a portion of its products with which to buy its manufactures, because the tendency of progress is away from agriculture and toward manufacturing and artistic industries. For instance, England was so definitely ahead of all other countries in manufacturing devices that she manufactured almost for the world, but no sooner did the United States begin to diversify than it began to invent, and with the very growth of its industrial complexity came an increased power of new invention, and now there are many times more new products, new

notions as they are sometimes called, in the form of commodities created in this country than in England. The variety of "Yankee notions" exceeds that of all Europe. The same is true of France, Germany and other countries in proportion as they make progress in the diversification of manufacturing and artistic industries.

It is altogether more likely that the final outcome will be that nations will ultimately specialize on certain lines of manufactured commodities and exchange manufactures for manufactures, but the idea that one nation can do the manufacturing for other nations, relying chiefly on foreign markets for its manufactured wares, is possible only if other nations fail to make commensurate progress.

Free Trade with our New Islands

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you think there would be any particular danger to our protective system involved in giving free trade to products from Porto Rico and the Philippines? These countries send us only tropical products, of which we raise very little here anyway. They would send us almost nothing in the manufactured line.

R. M. S.

There is no reason why the Philippines and Porto Rico should be treated any differently from Cuba and Canada. There is no particular benefit in giving them free trade, and the chief danger would be to open the door for the breaking down of our whole protective system. If it is important to the further industrial development of the United States to maintain a protective system, then it should be consistently maintained throughout. For instance, there is no particular reason why the products of these countries that compete with domestic products should be admitted free any more

than the products of Cuba or of India. There is one aspect of it in which free trade might prove a great disadvantage: namely, in inducing American capital to go to Porto Rico or the Philippines and, through the use of cheap labor there, undersell similar products in this country, to the detriment of American labor and of industry here.

That is what has occurred in the agricultural districts in England. By permitting American foodstuffs to come in free, it has scarcely paid for English capital to go into agriculture. It has not entirely suppressed English agriculture, but forced it to linger along in an unprosperous condition, with the result that the agricultural laborers of England have made practically no progress in sixty years. It would be a decided disadvantage to have any agricultural industries in this country paralyzed by the transference of capital to Porto Rico, the Philippines or Hawaii. That would be using these tropical countries with their tropical wages to prevent the progress of domestic industry. Let us once establish free trade with these islands and the clamor will set in for free trade with Canada, and the whole will be used as a lever to break down the protective system. Everything which contributes to the plausibility of a free-trade agitation is a blow at the present prosperity of the country.

"Trusts" as a Political Issue

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you suppose the trust question will ever again be a leading issue in American politics? The concentration movement seems to have reached and passed its climax, and all the tendency now is toward new competition. Business has become well adjusted to the era of great things and it does not seem as if the American people could really be stirred to great exer-

tions over something that they are constantly finding is only an imaginary hardship and not a real one at all.

P. M. L.

Anti-trust feeling is not dead. It is indeed true that the evils predicted regarding large corporations have not come to pass and that new competition is arising, but it is also true that the people are full of prejudice and easily inflamed against the rich. Nothing is quite so easy as to make the public believe that it is robbed. Nothing but the idea that the people are being robbed would give any sort of success to a free-trade agitation. In 1892, for instance, at the height of business prosperity, when laborers had never received so much for a day's work, they were with comparative ease induced to vote for a new policy,—all because they believed they were robbed, although they were actually getting more than they had ever had before. The trust matter is largely a question of feeling, and the feeling is that large corporations rob somebody. Mr. Bryan cunningly fastened upon this issue. He knew that feeling is stronger than reason. Those who are trying to stir up another free-trade agitation are basing their hope of success on the idea of coupling the trust with the tariff. Of course experience will win in the end if we can only get enough of it, but great bodies move slowly. The public opinion of seventy-six millions of people is not readily changed. It was full of prejudice in 1900, it will not be free from prejudice in 1904.

Yes, there is real danger, and the most effective way to prevent anti-trust sentiment from again focusing into a political issue is for the great capitalists to be conservative and public-spirited in their attitude toward prices and labor. They can do more than anybody else to make or prevent the trust question from becoming a political issue.

BOOK REVIEWS

GOVERNMENT OR HUMAN EVOLUTION. By Edmond Kelly, M.A., F.G.S. Cloth, gilt top, 608 pages. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

This book is the outcome, as the author tells us, of his experience as an active participant and for a considerable time a leader in the social-reform movement in New York city. Mr. Kelly was practically a leader in the organization of good-government clubs, which some years ago were a conspicuous element in the movement for municipal reform, culminating in taking the government of New York city from the Tammany administration. As the result of this experience, which was not highly gratifying, Mr. Kelly resolved to write a book and discuss if not solve the problem of individualism and collectivism. He has tried very hard to be fair and apparently struggled with himself not to become too far an advocate of either view, but rather to present the equilibrium between the two which should contain the best in both.

The opening chapters of the book show that he began in good faith with this high intention. But, as we read on, it gradually becomes perceptible that this purpose consciously or unconsciously slips away and he becomes an advocate of collectivism,—not a ranting socialist, but a socialist none the less, and the more he discusses collectivism the more he loses his capacity to state the strength of individualism. A sample of this is given on page 227. Discussing economic liberty, he says:

"Extreme individualism is marked by ferocity and selfishness, and is illustrated by the lion, the tiger, and man in the savage state. Extreme socialism is marked by habits of altruism and affection, as illustrated by the bee, the ant, and man in the ideal Christian state."

Thus in the author's mind individualism means the worst there is in depraved or least developed human nature, and socialism means the highest there is in refined, civilized character. This conception is born of pure sentiment. It rests on no rational generalization of experience. Nothing is more obvious and universal than that ferocity and selfishness belong to the uncultivated and brutalized, and that altruism and affection belong to the refined, cultivated and socially broadened character. This altruism and refinement has been developed and is to be found under conditions of economic individualism very much more than under any system of socialism, either in theory or practice. Indeed, the highest types of altruism ever developed thus far have been found under the individualistic regime. The bees and ants do not represent high society, they represent rather a despotic communism in which there is no freedom. All are made to do exactly alike. There can be no altruism where there is no freedom. When all are compelled to act and work, eat and live alike, there is nothing altruistic in their working in common. The author assures us (page 243) that:

"Collectivism proposes to vest in the state both land and capital, the private ownership of which now sets man against man, and to vest it under conditions which will put men shoulder to shoulder in cooperative production, eliminating anxiety, diminishing toil, and permitting a leisure and a freedom for the promotion of knowledge, culture, and art which the world has not yet seen."

It is unquestionably true that socialism proposes just this. All the experiments in socialism, from Brook Farms and Hopedale communities down to the last experiment in Kansas, have had this for their object, and it was because they thought that, by vesting "in the state both land and capital" and all the ownership and control of the means of production, they could accomplish this dream of fairyland, that they failed. They failed because they did not act along the lines of the

economic tendency of society, and no organized effort to transfer society from selfishness to altruism is ever likely to succeed so long as it is born of or directed by the idea that individualism is ferocity and socialism affection. Neither of these ideas is true. Individualism is not ferocity; on the contrary, it contains the possibility, as is demonstrated throughout the progress of society, of evolving the highest type of human character. Socialism is not affection, as every experiment to socialize authority has demonstrated.

But, as we progress through this interesting and sometimes ingenious volume, our author exhibits this tendency of underrating individualism and overrating collectivism until he almost becomes a special pleader. The importance of the discussion of this subject in the interest of collectivism is to show how it will work. No system of social organization is worth considering unless it is feasible. Hence the feasibility of the collectivist proposition is the point of importance. The feasibility of systems of social organization does not consist in the plausibility of the arrangement, saturated with ideal altruism, but rather in the automatic workable quality with the existing human nature. The social system will keep in order only so long as it accords with the tendency of human interests and human action. Any attempt to make it work contrary to this or very much above it is necessarily doomed to failure. No despotism is strong enough and no altruism affectionate enough to make institutions work except along the lines of the character, interests, habits and ideas of the people. One of two things is indispensable to orderly government; either that the social system shall be adjusted to the existing character of the people or the character of the people shall be adjusted to the institutions. In harmony they must be or the system will go to pieces.

It is just this lack of harmony between the economic forces of society and the idealism of the socialist proposition that Mr. Kelly fails to develop in any appreciable degree. He does, indeed, raise the question on almost every point, and his answer is usually what collectivism would do and not what the people would do under collectivism. For instance, on the matter of the value of commodities and the payment of services, which is one of the crucial points in any social system, he says:

"Under a collectivist *régime* there will be two kinds of scrip: dividend coupons and voluntary labour cheques. The former [which is to be the permanent economic method and take the place of wages] will be issued to represent that part of the nation's income to which the holder is entitled by virtue of the compulsory labour he does with a view to the production and distribution of necessities . . . The essential feature of the dividend coupon is that it represents a fraction of the national income."

In other words, the wages are not to depend as now upon the free operation of economic and social forces upon the individual, but it is to be a fractional part of the grand aggregate of the nation's income. The division of the product is to be proportionate to the number of the population. In this way every man will get an equal portion of the nation's product. Like the old wage-fund theory, this reduces individual income to a mathematical division, regardless of social character or individual effort.

On page 403 he gives an illustration of just how this division would take place:

"It is proposed to calculate it as follows:

"At a time when the population of the United States was fifty millions. Mulhall estimated that the amount of grain annually produced in the United States was 2,400,000,000 bushels. Of this, ten per cent. must be deducted for seed, and a further deduction of about fifty per cent. must be made for the feeding of stock. This would leave about 1,000,000,000 bushels available for human food. This figure divided by 50,000,000 would entitle every inhabitant, upon an equal division, to twenty bushels of grain per annum. This amount of grain, therefore, would

represent the share of every member of a collectivist community in the grain production of the state. If, at the time of the conversion of exchange medium from currency to dividend coupons, \$1.00, or a hundred cents, were the cash value of a bushel of grain, one hundred units might conveniently be taken as the commercial expression in dividend coupons of a bushel of grain; and every inhabitant would therefore be entitled to 20 x 100 or 2,000 units of value arising out of his right to an equal share in state production of grain.

"The same kind of calculation could be applied to meat; the number of pounds of meat to which each inhabitant was entitled could be arrived at as in the case of grain. If meat at the time of conversion was worth twenty cents a pound, the number of pounds of meat to which every inhabitant was entitled would be multiplied by twenty units, and this figure, representing the share of every inhabitant arising out of meat production, would be added to the 2,000 units representing his right to a share in the state production of grain.

"This process would be applied to all the commodities produced by the state through the medium of compulsory labour, and thus the total share of each inhabitant in the total income of the state would be determined in dividend units or coupons."

The merit of this plan from Mr. Kelly's point of view is that it would prevent anybody from becoming rich. Under this *régime* he correctly says: "No great individualist wealth could be made." Like most socialists, he creates a society that does not exist and then proceeds to criticize it. He says: "Individualists contend that individualism means to level up."

He then points to the inequalities of society as proof that individualism has failed. As a matter of fact, no intelligent representative of individualism would claim that individualism means leveling up. Leveling is just what individualism never means, either up or down. Leveling always means an arrest of progress, whichever way the leveling takes place. To level up means that the top must stop or slacken while the bottom catches up, and leveling down that the top must be lowered until an equality is established. Either of these processes means a practical dead level and static society, which is the opposite of individualism. There can never be leveling with progress.

Progress always means inequality. The human race never can move all abreast, not even in any considerable group. Progress is a procession in which some lead and others follow, but all move. Progress lifts the bottom but it never levels. Individualism is the very essence of this irregular progressive motion, hence it is an essential in real progress.

It is undoubtedly true that collectivism tends to level. It may even tend to level up from the bottom without leveling down very much from the top. But this very leveling is stultifying. Its tendency is necessarily to stop the irregular movement by preventing individual initiative, which constitutes leadership in progress. Nothing could be more deadening to initiating leadership in social progression than the system of equal division of the nation's product above described by Mr. Kelly. It is the veritable doling out of the nation's wealth in even portions on the basis of counting heads all of equal value. That is quite as bad as, if not a little worse than, the military system proposed by Bellamy. There is absolutely nothing in this to inspire either exceptional effort or application of genius to improvement, except the very, very general fact that the most incompetent person in the community will get exactly as much of the results as those who by special effort and application bring about the increase. If the object was to stop the increase of wealth and bring society not merely to a level but to a dead static level, this scheme of distribution would seem perfect.

Our author further explains that these coupons or money must not be coined because coin can be accumulated and those who own it might become rich, which is the special thing to be avoided in the new state. If individuals own wealth they might exercise dangerous influence on the government. He says:

"It does not seem conceivable that those in con-

trol of so powerful a machinery as that of a collectivist state could resist the corrupting power of wealthy magnates able by accumulation of wealth to offer enormous rewards for political favors."

To prevent this the money must be so arranged as not to be susceptible of accumulation, and if accumulated to become worthless, and to insure that this shall work Mr. Kelly provides that the labor cheques must be used within a limited period or become valueless.

This can hardly be called a scientific discussion of a social system, but rather a description of a new proposed system to be inaugurated. The objection to it is that it is arbitrary, uneconomic and not in the line of development from any known societary institutions. It ignores all the principles of economic compensation and distribution; it takes no scientific account of the principles of value, of wages, or exchange. However plausible or satisfactory such a scheme may be to the fairyland conceptions of a philanthropic mind, it can do little for the practical amelioration of the conditions of the human race, because it is not in accordance with the interests and forces of existing society or with the conditions of social progress.

The book may properly be regarded as a discussion of individualism and collectivism, but it can hardly justify the title of human evolution. If evolution means anything it means the growth out of one condition into another, and not the creation of a new system having little in common with the old. To abolish individual wealth, destroy exchange on the basis of economic value, and to remove the opportunities of wealth accumulation is not to improve the present state of industrial society but to create a new one, which involves a miracle. Mr. Kelly's descriptions are interesting, his doctrines are disappointing. It can hardly be regarded as a permanent contribution of economic discussion or of social philosophy.

TUSKEGEE. *Its Story and its Work.* By Max Bennett Thrasher. With an introduction by Booker T. Washington. Cloth, 215 pp., \$1.00. Small, Maynard & Company, Boston, Mass.

In his introduction Mr. Washington says that the author of this book is exceptionally fitted for the work he has done, having been for several years closely acquainted with the institute and studied its work on the ground.

The opening chapters are devoted to a sketch of Mr. Washington's life up to the time he was asked to organize and take charge of a school at Tuskegee. An interesting account is given of the almost incredible growth of this school since its opening, twenty years ago, in an old negro church with thirty pupils in attendance. The institute now owns hundreds of acres of land, forty-six buildings, and has a yearly attendance of more than one thousand students. Mr. Thrasher has traveled extensively through the South for the purpose of visiting the graduates of Tuskegee, and his account of their work and the influence they exert in bringing about better conditions among their own people and a better sentiment between the races shows how the results of the work at Tuskegee extend far beyond the comparatively few who directly secure the benefits of its training.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Government or Human Evolution. Individualism and Collectivism. By Edmond Kelly, M. A., F. G. S., author of "Evolution and Effort." Cloth, 608 pp. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

The Great War Trek. With the British Army in the Veldt. By James Barnes, author of "Midshipman Farragut," etc. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. D. Appleton and Company, New York.

Treason and Plot. Struggles for Catholic Supremacy in the Last Years of Queen Elizabeth. By Martin A. S. Hume, author of "The Spanish People," etc. Cloth, 8vo, \$4.50. D. Appleton and Company. New York.

Scientific Side-Lights. Compiled by James C. Fernald, author of "The Spaniard in History," etc. Cloth, 8vo, 700 pp., \$5. Funk & Wagnalls Company, New York.

The Nineteenth Century. A Review of Progress in the Chief Departments of Human Activity. Among the 37 contributors are Arthur T. Hadley and Andrew Carnegie. Cloth, 8vo, 500 pp., \$2. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

My Experiences in the Boer War. By Adalbert Count Sternberg. Translated from the German. With preface by Lieut.-Col. G. F. R. Henderson. Cloth, crown 8vo, 268 pp., \$1.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Political Economy. By Charles S. Devas, M. A., sometime examiner in political economy at the Royal University of Ireland. Cloth, crown 8vo, \$2. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Second edition, rewritten and enlarged.

Queen Victoria, 1819-1901. By Richard R. Holmes, M. V. O., F. S. A., librarian at Windsor Castle. Cloth, crown, 8vo, \$1.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. New edition, with a supplementary chapter bringing the narrative to the end of the Queen's reign.

Annals of Politics and Culture, 1492-1899. By G. P. Gooch, M. A., author of "English Democratic Ideas in the Seventeenth Century." With an introductory note by Lord Acton. Cloth, 8vo, 530 pp., \$2.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The Industrial Revolution. By Charles Beard. With a preface by F. York Powell, Regius professor of modern history in the University of Oxford. Paper, 12mo, 105 pp., 40 cents. The Macmillan Company, New York.

FROM JULY MAGAZINES.

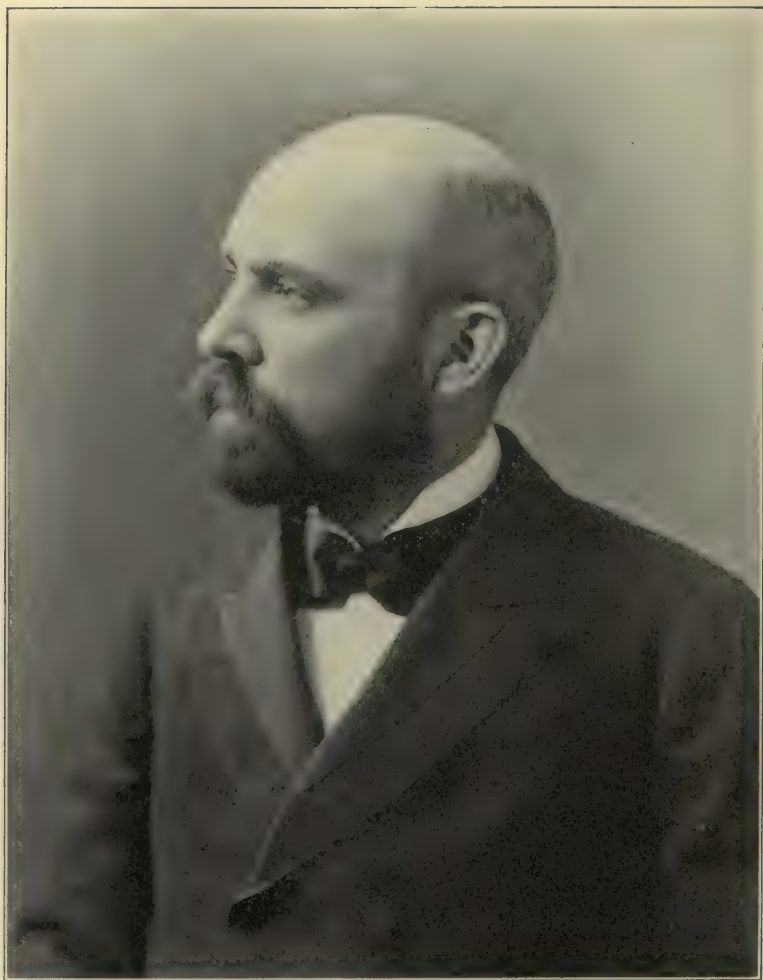
“Every professor is at perfect liberty to give dignified and moderate expression to whatever views on political and social questions he may hold. . . . In doing so, however, he should never forget the dignity and impartiality and courtesy which his position as an intellectual servant of the public must always impose upon him. . . . Membership in a political party and frank avowal of one's views on political and social questions are perfectly consistent with the position of a professor. Neither president nor trustee nor donor has the slightest right to inquire into a professor's views for the purposes of discipline or removal, nor to prevent the reasonable and moderate expression of such views. On the other hand, a president and a board of trustees have both the right and duty to suggest to a professor that the immoderate and aggressive and vituperative reiteration of views which are repugnant to a large portion of the constituency of an institution, are inconsistent with his largest usefulness as a professor; and if he persists in such utterances, to notify him to choose between the career of an agitator and a professor. Every relationship implies both rights and duties. A professor has duties to an institution as well as rights in it. It is the duty of the president and trustees of an institution to protect a professor in his reasonable rights, and to insist on his regard for the duties and obligations which his membership in the institution involves.”—WM. DEWITT HYDE, in “Academic Freedom in America,” *The International Monthly*.

“It is a great error to speak of the majority of these people [Filipinos] as barbaric. They are cultivated to a degree, intelligent, and eager to adopt new

customs. But they belong rather to the fourteenth century than to the present era. The wild men, who dwell in certain mountainous sections, are not warlike, unless molested, and are looked upon by the others as we look upon the American Indians. The cleverness of the average Filipino is evinced by his aptitude in acquiring the English language. In the new schools, it is one of the required studies, and in engaging teachers preference is given to Filipinos, who quickly learn their future tongue. Within ten years, there probably will be only Filipino instructors on the islands.

“As ‘native police,’ trained by the United States’ officers, they prove themselves to be in every way capable and trustworthy, and the system of employing them is being universally adopted.”—GEN. F. D. GRANT, in “The Philippines and Their People,” *Success*.

“It is well known, that as between given industries and countries, the longer working-day is invariably distinguished by the lower wage rate. The facts of the movement for a shorter working-day demonstrate that wages increase not only relatively to the amount of work done, but also positively as the result of the diminished competition among the workers. This fact is the strongest possible substantiation of the contention that the wage rate is governed wholly by those considerations which we have in mind when we speak of the ‘standard of living.’ ‘More time out of the shop’ means more time for rest and recreation; leading to the creation of new desires, and the consequent elevation, or at least diversification, of the accustomed mode of living. By a natural process these desires become needs, the satisfaction of which is as imperative to the sense of decency as that of the purely physical wants to the maintenance of life itself.”—WALTER MACARTHUR, in “The Movement for a Shorter Working-Day,” *The Forum*.



FRANK MOSS

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

Waning of the Steel Strike

Ever since President Shaffer's declaration, given out on July 21st, that he proposed to hold the administration and the republican party responsible for the result of the present strike, whatever popular confidence existed in his leadership has been fast ebbing away. Along with the decline of confidence, public sympathy with the strikers' cause has also rapidly approached the vanishing point. The extreme nature of the demands made by the men is responsible for much of this, but not for more than the growing feeling that leaders of the kind that have come to the front in this struggle cannot be safely entrusted with such power as the men have sought to obtain. The dangers of putting such exclusive control into the hands of the unions have grown more and more obvious in proportion as the management of the strike by its leaders has shown new phases of bad judgment, indifference to contract obligations, and heated appeals to prejudice and passion.

The latest developments in the conflict have confirmed this feeling. From the concessions which the steel corporation has declared itself willing to make, it is now clear that, if the original demands of the amalgamated association had been moderate and reasonable, they would probably have been granted, and all this costly and disastrous struggle been avoided. If Presi-

dent Shaffer and his associates had simply demanded the signing of the scale for the plants where unions existed, and the releasing of the men in non-union mills from their contracts not to belong to unions, leaving the association free to organize them if it could, the obvious reasonableness of the demand would doubtless have brought victory at the start. By another year, then, if the moral suasion brought to bear by the association was really effective, most of the men in the non-union mills would probably have been organized and ready to demand the uniform scale for themselves. As it was, the demands the association did make, however explained, meant in effect that the non-union mills must be made union mills by the employers. This looked on the face of it so much like coercion, an arbitrary effort to force organization upon those who might or might not want it, that the corporation at once had a moral backing in public opinion for refusing to submit. With better leadership, the laborers might have gained an important vantage ground, with no interruption to the industrial peace of the country, and none of the privations and enormous losses that every day's continuance of the struggle now entails.

**Failure of Efforts
to Settle**

The United States Steel Corporation has not refused to confer with the officers of the Amalgamated Association nor declined to submit propositions to them as representing the body of organized workers in the steel industry. A conference of some nature was held in New York about the middle of July, and the terms offered to the strikers at that time included the opening of all mills to non-union men as an offset to permitting the association to organize the men in the mills not now organized, if it could. President Shaffer at first agreed to this, but the men refused to support him. Another conference was held

in New York on August 4th, at which Mr. Shaffer and his associates met Mr. Morgan and Mr. Schwab at the office of the steel corporation. The terms of settlement discussed were: (1) the strikers to withdraw their demand that employees in non-union mills be compelled to join the union; (2) the steel companies to agree not to discharge any workers because of membership in the union or because of efforts to organize unions in the non-union mills; (3) the wage scale agreed upon with the association to be the minimum scale in all mills, but the corporation to have the right of making special wage contracts at non-union mills, and the union scale not to be signed for those mills; (4) finally, all mills of all the companies to be open to any steel workers, whether members of the union or not.

The labor leaders would not accept this last clause, and the conference came to an end without result. Two days, later, August 6th, Mr. Shaffer issued this strike order:

"Brethren: The officials of the United States Steel Trust have refused to recognize as union men those who are now striving for the right to organize. The executive board has authorized me to issue a call upon all Amalgamated and other union men in name and heart to join in the movement to fight for labor's rights.

"We must fight or give up forever our personal liberties.

"You will be told that you have signed contracts, but you never agreed to surrender those contracts to the United States Steel Corporation. Its officers think you were sold to them just as the mills, with contracts and all.

"Remember, before you agreed to any contract you took an obligation to the Amalgamated Association. It now calls you to help in this hour of need.

"Unless the trouble is settled on or before Saturday, August 10, 1901, the mills will close when the last turn is made on that day.

"Brethren, this is the call to preserve our organization. We trust you and need you. Come and help us, and may right come to a just cause."

The effect of this, thus far, has been chiefly a disappointment to the men. About 14,000 obeyed it, on

August 12th, but it was expected that 40,000 or 50,000 would come out, mostly in the West. On August 16th, about 3000 men in the employ of the Illinois Steel Company, at Joliet, did indeed join the strike, but on the other hand the corporation has succeeded in resuming work in several plants which had been closed down. The strongest item of encouragement to the strikers, aside from the Joliet reinforcement, is the fact that the American Federation of Labor has come to their aid, promising moral and probably financial aid. Meanwhile, the corporation is taking advantage of the idleness to dismantle a number of important plants and move the machinery to other points, where less trouble is to be feared. This policy of further concentration, if carried out, will undoubtedly increase the economic efficiency of the corporation when work is resumed, and also make the task of organized labor as difficult in these new and enlarged centers of production as it has been in the Carnegie works at Homestead ever since 1892. The large Dewees Wood plant at McKeesport, Pa., is already being torn down in accordance with this program, and it has been decided to combine several mills of the American Tin Plate Company with the Monessen, Pa., plant, which is the only tin-plate mill where the men have not gone on strike.

**Bad Faith
Cannot Win**

President Shaffer's last general strike order is in itself almost enough to doom the men's cause to failure. Even the workers to whom it was addressed, those most directly interested and most strongly partisan to the union's side, for the most part have refused to obey it, and in some places, notably Cleveland, the strikers have returned to work on the ground that the leaders had no right to order them to break contracts made with the

company, showing an even keener sense of honorable obligation than the officers of the association.

Mr. Shaffer's argument that the contracts made by non-union men with the various steel corporations are no longer good, because the corporations have been absorbed by the "trust," not only failed to convince the men concerned but has strengthened everywhere the hands of those who are glad to have it appear that trade unions will not hold themselves responsible and cannot be trusted to stand by their agreements. Nothing more unfortunate for the labor cause could have occurred. It is purely an argument of expediency, not of principle. Does anybody imagine for a moment that if the laborers had made favorable contracts with the various companies Mr. Shaffer would have said anything about having them cancelled, because the men were being "sold" to the corporation? Suppose, in such a case, the corporation had undertaken to suspend the agreements, would not Shaffer have fairly exploded with moral indignation and called it perfidious violation of sacred obligations?

The contracts made with the non-union men may be indefensible in themselves, but they are contracts and should be respected until properly abrogated. To say they were not transferred with all other contracts when the corporations were absorbed by the steel "trust" is practically to admit what would be one of the most damaging of all things to the laborers, namely, that labor contracts have not the same binding or legal force as other kinds of business agreements and therefore may be violated at will. No theory of this sort was ever presented which did not work both ways. If a labor contract is not binding on the men it is not binding on the corporation, and with every change of organization on the part of the companies it would be possible to abrogate any or all agreements with the men

as to wages, hours or other conditions. Would the laborers quietly accept this as just and honorable conduct? Not for a moment. Indeed, one of the original causes of complaint in the present strike was the fear—not the knowledge, but only the suspicion—that the Carnegie Steel Company was going to absorb the American Steel Hoop Company and, by thus ending the legal existence of these companies, terminate also their contracts with the amalgamated association, making them all non-union. This would have been openly denounced as a scandalous device to break contracts with the laborers. Yet Mr. Shaffer now proposes to have the men in the non-union mills take advantage of the very principle upon which the Carnegie Company would have acted had it adopted this plan, namely, that a change in the form of organization abrogates all previously existing labor contracts. How can the leaders of the unions expect public respect and sympathy in the face of such obvious inconsistency and unfairness as this?

**The Proposed
Settlement Not
Unreasonable**

As we have said, the men might have won had the leaders demanded simply the signing of the scale for the organized mills and releasing of non-union men from their contracts not to join the association. Not having done this, there is no doubt that it would still have been wiser, under the circumstances, to accept the corporation's offer of settlement than to go on with the struggle. This offer would have guaranteed the union scale as the minimum rate in all the mills, and opened the non-union mills to the organizers of the association. To be sure, it would have thrown open also the union mills to such non-union laborers as might be able to obtain employment there. But this would not necessarily have broken up the

union, or compelled the men to "fight or give up forever [their] personal liberties." It would simply have transferred to the union the whole burden of maintaining itself intact. If the union organizers could not persuade, by peaceful means, the non-union laborers to join the organization, it would be because they had not a sufficiently good cause to present to these men to convince them, and more they could not expect. If, upon experience, the unions should find that union men were being discharged and only non-union men being employed in their places, there would be at any such time sufficient ground for a strike, and with a moral justification behind it. It is highly improbable that any such policy would be pursued by the corporation; the ever-threatening penalties would be heavier than anything to be gained by it. Indeed, under such an arrangement, the position of the union might really be stronger than now. With an organization existing in every mill, even if it did not include all the workers, a general strike would call off enough men to make it practically impossible to operate any of the plants successfully; whereas at present the great strength of the corporation is that it can keep on supplying orders by concentrating business at several of its largest concerns.

With the knowledge that a general strike would come if a systematic effort were made to supplant union men with non-union men, in this or that particular mill, and the further knowledge that such a strike would cripple if not stop practically every plant owned by the corporation, the employers would have an even stronger interest than now in seeing that occasion for a strike was not given. The men would be practically as safe under such an agreement as they are at present anywhere, and it would make their success depend, not on coercion or arbitrary exclusive rule, but on their

own ability to convince workingmen of the advantages of labor organization, on the one hand, and on the other their power to deal a staggering blow to the corporation if efforts were made to break up the union by stealthy methods, piecemeal.

But the men have rejected this arrangement and now it is probably a fight to the finish. There has been some talk of arbitration but nothing sufficiently definite to be at all promising. It may not yet be too late for a settlement, but it is most unlikely that any fresh concession will be offered by the steel corporation. An agreement, if any is reached now, will probably come through the mediation of outside interests. The misfortune of the situation, from the laborers' standpoint, is that bad leadership has sacrificed the opportunity of gaining a real advantage, but even now it would be far wiser to accept the guarantee of a minimum wage, with the privilege of free organization in all mills, than to continue a course which bids fair to break up the organization altogether and transfer this giant steel corporation into the group of non-union industries.

Police Department The campaign for wrenching New York
Rascality Un- city from the grip of Tammany Hall
masked at Last could hardly have had a more favorable
groundwork of operations than the radical exposures
now going on of wholesale corruption in the police department. It has been public knowledge for years that the Tammany police were systematically protecting disorderly houses and haunts of vice, for regular money tribute, but not until now has it been possible to get definite evidence connecting police headquarters with this system of organized blackmail. None of the reform efforts, investigations or raids have been able to break into the extraordinary network in which the

police department has concealed its system of revenue for vice-protection under the external appearance of enforcing the law. Now, however, the Society for the Prevention of Crime, through the skilful detective work of ex-Police Commissioner Frank Moss, has obtained evidence which ought to, and probably will, lead to the indictment of Deputy-Chief of Police Devery, several captains and wardmen, and possibly entail the removal of Police Commissioner Murphy.

**How the Proof
Was Obtained**

Some years ago a man named Edgar A. Whitney was in the employ of the Society for the Prevention of Crime as a special agent, but left its service in 1896. After that he went over to the camp of the enemy, and became one of the intermediaries between the police department and the poolroom clique, his particular function being to give "tips" to poolrooms of approaching raids. Within the last few weeks, one of the agents of the Society for the Prevention of Crime, Dillon, pretended to sell out to the poolroom combine, agreeing with Whitney to send word in advance when any of Mr. Moss's agents were planning a raid. Whitney thereupon initiated Dillon into the secret of the method whereby these tips were forwarded to the suspected poolrooms, and the fact was revealed that the telephone system of police headquarters itself is the chief instrument of communication. The operators had orders to make any telephone connections desired by Whitney, by authority of Deputy-Chief Devery, and Dillon tested the system by sending tips through the headquarters to various sub-station houses and poolrooms, with the result that in every case the inmates were seen promptly to disappear, leaving the resorts closed up and deserted. On the basis of these facts Whitney was arrested, on August 9th, and next day made a full confession, which has

not been published, but is in the possession of District Attorney Philbin. This, it is believed, will lead soon to the formal indictment of several of the most conspicuous and long-suspected officials in the police department, including Deputy-Chief Devery, Captain Flood of the "tenderloin" district, and Edward G. Glennon, Flood's wardman.

**The Possible
Results**

Following so closely upon the trial and conviction of Wardman Bissert, his sentence to five years' imprisonment, and the subsequent indictment of Captain Diamond of the East 5th Street station, both for complicity in the protection of a disorderly resort on Stuyvesant Street, this definite exposure of an organized "tipping system" through police headquarters is one of the most damning revelations that has come to light in the history of New York city misgovernment. Those who see only the concrete results are not likely fully to appreciate the persistent and untiring labors of men like Mr. Moss, Justice Jerome and District Attorney Philbin to secure the conviction of those responsible for such a disgrace to the metropolis. To them will belong the credit, if the result shall be the removal and punishment of the corrupt clique who have degraded what should be the right arm of the law, for the preservation of public order and morals, into a vice-protecting machine for the gathering of revenue in behalf of a political cabal existing only for public plunder.

Whether indictments and convictions are secured or not, the effect upon public opinion ought to give enough momentum to the anti-Tammany campaign to carry the cause of decent government up to and beyond the line of victory, thus cleaning out this entire structure of official rottenness from top to bottom. It is fortunate that the new system of having a single police

commissioner in charge of the department makes it possible, in case of a reform victory, to reorganize the police service through and through, as was not possible under Mayor Strong because of the bungling, ineffective bi-partisan board.

The opportunity for a thorough renovation now actually exists, and whether it shall be taken is for the people and leaders of the various organizations, whose cooperation is absolutely essential to success, to say. This time, at any rate, there can be no toleration of petty jealousies, rivalries and dissensions, which shall split up into warring factions those who really want decent government and so give the city again to the enemy. The cause is too serious, the opportunity is too great, and woe to him who does anything to fritter it away.

**Free Trade With
Porto Rico**

The Porto Rico legislature having devised a system of internal revenue, which it is expected will be adequate for the support of the island government, President McKinley, under the terms of the Foraker law, issued a proclamation on July 24th abolishing the tariff that has been collected on Porto Rican products and admitting them free to the ports of the United States.

Now that this mighty reform has been at last accomplished, those who have been shedding salt tears over the wretched plight of the poor Porto Ricans, groaning under the burden of this iniquitous tariff (about one-seventh of that collected on similar products from any other country), will experience a great refreshment and revival of spirits. They will have luxurious visions of the plenty and comfort that are, *presto*, going to smile upon our little West Indian possession. There is a rich field, too, for the newspaper cartoonists who have familiarized the public *ad nauseam*

with pitiful figures of little Porto Rico, in rags and misery, knocking vainly at a massive tariff wall, with a flinty-faced likeness of Senator Foraker looking over the top. They will change all this to an alluring picture of rich prosperity, the wall removed, and Justice triumphant on a pedestal.

There have been few more ridiculous things in the history of tariff discussions than the denunciations heaped on this Porto Rican tariff, and the efforts to charge the hardships of the island during the last year or two to this cause. As a matter of fact, if these hardships were due to tariff legislation, rather than to the hurricane which devastated the island in 1899, it must have been the lowering of the tariff rather than the putting of it on that brought the calamity. The impression seems to have existed that the Foraker act in some way shut out Porto Rico from privileges it had previously enjoyed; in reality, Porto Rico always had to pay full tariff duties, like any other country, on everything it sent to the United States, but the Foraker act removed 85 per cent. of this duty and required Porto Rico to pay only 15 per cent. of the rates collected from all others. If this is what caused the miseries of Porto Rico during the last two years, then the adoption of complete free trade may be expected to complete the ruin and force us to put the whole population into poorhouses.

In reality the Foraker act was the means of saving the Porto Ricans an amount of internal taxation since 1899 which, added to the devastation of the hurricane, might have completed the prostration of the island's industry and trade. Our government made a present to the Porto Rican treasury of every cent collected at our custom houses on imports from the island. The amount of protection afforded was too small to be of any particular consequence to producers in the United

States, or serious burden to Porto Rican importers, and the only real significance of the measure was that it provided a means of running the Porto Rican government without overburdening the poverty-stricken population with taxation until they were in a position to devise a system which they would be able to maintain without hardship. Such a system has now been arranged and put into legal form in what is known as the Hollander law, which proposes to raise the revenue in three ways: (1) a tax on real and personal property; (2) an excise tax; (3) the customs duties on imports from foreign countries. None of these customs collections will come into the United States treasury, which is an exception in favor of Porto Rico enjoyed by no other state or territory of the union.

The tariff is now off, and with the change from 85 per cent. free trade to 100 per cent. free trade the sugar planters and coffee raisers of the little island spring at once from serfdom into emancipation. The Porto Ricans need no longer groan. No more tears need fall. And the free traders here at home, it is to be hoped, can once more sleep o' nights.

**Current Price
Comparisons**

For Tuesday, August 20, the *Journal of Commerce* shows the following wholesale prices:

	1901	1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.75a4.00	\$3 75a4.10
Wheat, No. 2 red	77½	79½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	62½	45
Oats, No. 2 mixed	39.	26
Pork, mess	16.00	12.50
Lard, prime western	9.10	7.05
Beef, hams	21.50	20.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7 . . . . .	.. a5½	8½
Tea, Formosa	23	24½
Sugar, granulated	5.25	6.10
Butter, creamery, extra	20½a. .	21½a. .
Cheese, State, f. c. white, small, fancy . .	9½a9½	a10½

	1901	1900
Cotton, middling upland	\$ 8 1.16	\$ 10
Print cloths	2½	2½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.50	8.05
Hides, native steers	12½	10½
Leather, hemlock	24½	23
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00a16.50	16.00a17.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00a15.50	16.00a . .
Tin, Straits	a26.25	. . . a30.90
Copper, Lake ingot	16½a17	16.50a16.62½
Lead, domestic . . . . .	. . a4½	. . . . a4.25

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for August 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Aug. 1, 1901.	July 1, 1901.	Jan. 1, 1901.	Aug. 1, 1900.	Aug. 1, 1899.	Aug. 1, 1898.
Breadstuffs.	\$166.68	\$149.04	\$144.86	\$138.80	124.03	\$121.91
Meats	91.51	94.30	84.07	90.68	82.74	78.25
Dairy and Garden	132.61	110.30	155.56	115.32	99.36	96.25
Other Food	92.53	90.86	95.04	96.18	90.86	87.95
Clothing	150.27	150.98	160.24	161.06	152.18	146.34
Metals	153.45	153.44	158.10	151.51	166.16	113.97
Miscellaneous . . .	166.25	166.17	158.81	161.70	143.64	125.19
Total	\$953.30	\$915.09	\$956.68	\$915.25	\$859.97	\$769.86

As might be expected, the advances at present are nearly all in foodstuffs, owing to unfavorable weather conditions in the West. Manufactured products remain about stationary, though showing a considerable decline as compared with last year. Even metals, in spite of the strike, were lower on August 1st than on January 1st, a condition which can hardly be expected to remain if the suspension of production is long continued.

ELEMENTS IN ECONOMIC HARMONY

Blessed are the peace-makers; they ought to inherit the earth. In no sphere of human interest are the functions of the peace-maker and harmonizer more important to society than in economics. The strife of trade unions, employers' associations, political parties, armies and navies, international controversies, and even war and revolution, mostly arise from differing views and policies on economic and industrial questions. These differences of policy generally rest on differences in economic theory. Statesmen and politicians, manufacturers, traders and laborers do not create theories; they adopt them; they convert them into policy.

The corner-stone, as it were, of economic science is value. It is through value (price) that all economic movements in modern society take place. All questions of consumption, production, buying and selling, wages and prices, profits, rents and interest are directly or indirectly reflected back to the question of value. So, too, the practical questions of trusts and strikes, monopoly and competition, tariffs and free trade, currency and banking, immigration and sweatshops, education and sanitation, all are contemplated from the point of view of value, as reflected through production, consumption and prices. Yet there is no question upon which economists have differed so widely as this foundation element in the science upon which they should be most substantially agreed. The contention, verging on chaos, which has prevailed among economists on this subject has lent color to almost every vagary in public policy. Indeed, it has created an air of contempt for economics as a science, among practical people of affairs, because on almost no important public question is there any sub-

stantial agreement among those who ought to be authority on the subject.

During recent years, however, some progress has been made in this direction. The discussion has tended to establish two theories, which have been denominated the English and Austrian schools. The distinctive idea of the English school is that the value or price of commodities tends to equal the cost of production, and that of the Austrian school is that value tends to equal the marginal or final utility of the commodity.

In an article, "Social Elements in the Theory of Value,"* Dr. Edwin R. A. Seligman has assumed the task of harmonizing these two theories and so making peace between the contending and seemingly antagonistic forces in economic science. He has undertaken to show, and not altogether without success, that in the last analysis the two mean the same thing. He says (page 337):

"Both cost and utility measure value, because, as we have seen, marginal social cost is always equal to marginal social utility."

Also, (page 340):

"Value may be estimated in terms of either social utility or social cost, because the marginal degree of the one is equal to that of the other."

And so in several ways Dr. Seligman reaches the conclusion that the two are essentially the same. Now if this be true, and he goes far toward proving his case, the contention, which leads to so much confusion of opinion, is very largely a matter of nomenclature. There is no virtue whatever in any economic theory which does not contribute to the understanding of practical problems in society. Any economic theories which do not throw helpful light on the practical problems of the day are worse than useless, because they waste time and tend to confuse. If there are two roads which

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lead to the same place, and one is broad and obvious to the ordinary traveler, while the other is circuitous and beset by many by-ways through which the traveler may easily stray into the woods, there can be but one opinion as to which road should be recommended.

This is the case with the two theories of value which Dr. Seligman has undertaken to harmonize. Of course, in assuming the role of harmonizer and peacemaker, for which by learning and temperament he is so admirably equipped, Dr. Seligman endeavors to merge the two, as he says, "into a higher synthesis." He begins by saying:

"A brilliant writer at the last meeting of the American Economic Association said that the cost of production theory of value has been relegated to the limbo of antiquities, and has been supplanted by the doctrine of marginal utility. On the other hand, we have the equally positive statement of another recent writer that the marginal utility theory, which at one time seemed to possess the minds of the younger American economists, has now been quietly shelved in favor of the older classical doctrine of cost."

The doctrine of cost may indeed have been "relegated to the limbo of antiquities" by a brilliant writer living in a world of abstractions, but not by successful men of affairs. The business man never fails to reckon with the cost of production as a vital element in his business and the controlling fact in his profitable competition. The manufacturer who relegates cost of production "to the limbo of antiquities" is surely heading for the same place. Failure is the reward for all who refuse to reckon with cost, however much they may dote on marginal utility. Of course, Dr. Seligman does not declare himself in favor of the cost doctrine as against the marginal-utility doctrine, but he very judiciously leads his utility friend around the circuitous puzzle-walks of the marginal-utility vernacular until he reaches the goal where the two are identical and might

have been reached crosslots with half the trouble, and less risk of getting lost.

In order to do this successfully, Dr. Seligman devotes nearly two-thirds of his article to reasoning in the terms of the marginal-utility theory. It may be well, the better to understand the reasoning in the case, and more accurately to judge the value of Dr. Seligman's criticisms, briefly to state here the essential point of the two doctrines. Dr. Seligman does not give the definition himself, but he may be taken to be in full accord with Professor Clark's statement of it in his recent work (*The Distribution of Wealth*, page 42):

"As this term is usually defined, it means the degree of usefulness that the last of a series of similar articles possesses. Give to a man one unit of the article A, and then another and another, till he has ten of them. While each of the articles in the series may do him some good, the amount of the benefit will steadily diminish; as the number of the articles grows larger, and the tenth one will benefit him least of all. In order to add to his stock of A, the man will never sacrifice more than what is, in his view, a fair offset for the benefit that he will get from the tenth and last unit of it. . . . Then what they will give for any of them will be gauged by the specific utility of the last one."

The cost of production doctrine may be briefly stated thus: Under free competition, the value of a commodity in a given market will tend to equal the cost of producing the dearest portion of the general supply continuously demanded. It will be observed that the marginal-utility theory is based upon the assumption that the consumer's desires determine what the value shall be; that it is determined by what he will give for the units of the product that are least useful to him. At best this cannot represent more than half the truth, because it takes no cognizance of the producer's side. The consumer, it is true, furnishes the demand, but the producer furnishes the supply, and surely those who supply commodities have to be reckoned with about the price. If consumers alone could determine it, the price would always be *nil*.

By way of illustration, Dr. Seligman introduces the indispensable "Robinson Crusoe on a desert isle" who, he says, "would assign a value to apples as compared with nuts, the value of each being in agreement with their marginal utility to him." The plain, simple fact in Crusoe's case would be that if apples were just as good as nuts he would get whichever he could get easiest, which means that which cost him the least effort. If he had to run more risk or do more work to get the same satisfaction out of nuts that he would out of apples, then he would take the apples. All nature and all mankind does that. Just what would determine the marginal-utility preference in Crusoe's case is not clear, but what would determine the cost preference is obvious—that which he could get the easiest. Now, since they are both alike, why is it not better to say cost instead of marginal utility?

Again, he says:

"If an apple is worth twice as much as a nut, it is only because the community, after comparing and averaging individual preferences, finds that the desire unsatisfied by the lack of an apple is twice as keen as that unsatisfied by the lack of a nut."

Here the Doctor does too much for his utility friends. That is not the reason why an apple is "worth twice as much as a nut." No matter how keen the desire for apples as compared with nuts, if it cost the same to produce a nut as it did an apple, neither could possibly be worth twice as much as the other, but their value would be the same. For example, the total crop of wheat for 1900 was 522,000,000 bushels and the total crop of corn was 2,105,000,000 bushels. The desire for corn was more than four times "as keen" as the desire for wheat, and yet the price of wheat was fully twice as much as the price of corn. The reason that corn in any normal year is only half the price of wheat is because it only costs about half as much to raise a

bushel of corn as it does to raise a bushel of wheat. If the desire for corn were forty times instead of four times as keen as for wheat, it would not affect the price of corn as compared with wheat if the cost of raising the corn per bushel were not increased. There would simply be more corn produced, as there is.

Dr. Seligman is entirely right in emphasizing the social element in value. It is not the individual estimate, but the estimate of society as represented by the aggregate individuals, in their action and reaction, upon each other. That influences value. But neither the individual nor society can fix the value of commodities below the cost of production. Suppose, for instance, in a given community or country the social marginal utility of shoes were 10 cents a pair (and in some countries it might not be higher) and nobody could produce them at less than 25 cents. That 10 cents marginal utility would not fix the value of the shoes. It would be fixing the barefootedness of the people. If the cost of producing shoes is 50 cents a pair, no social marginal utility less than 50 cents will have any effect whatever upon the value, because it will not induce production. By way of criticising the cost of production theory, Dr. Seligman says:

“The value is due not to the labor of the individual who has made it, but to the social service which it is going to render; that is, to the social sacrifice which it is going to save. If it does not render that service, it will not possess that value, no matter how much individual labor has been spent on it”—

and in a footnote adds that Professor Clark in his “Distribution of Wealth” is the only writer to state this point clearly.

That is really a little surprising. So far as we know, no representative advocate of the cost theory ever contended that it was the cost of individual product or the product of individual producers that determined

the value. On the contrary, it is an essential part of the theory that it is the cost of the dearest portion of the aggregate supply to a given market continuously demanded.*

This was always stated or implied by Ricardo, McCullough and Walker, and even by Karl Marx, as shown by his silver-spindle illustration. In applying the cost principle to wages as a standard of living, care has always been taken to explain that it was not the cost of the single laborer's living, but of the family, and not even of the single family but of the most expensive families in a competing group whose labor is continuously required.†

If a manufacturer insisted on making cotton cloths with hand looms at a cost of 50 cents a yard, while the rest of the producers were making it by factory methods at 5 cents a yard, it is truly absurd to assume that the value would be 50 cents a yard. The reason that it would not is thoroughly explained by the cost theory, namely, that the 50-cent product would not constitute a necessary part of the continuous supply. The cheaper factory methods would undersell it and render it unnecessary. It is on this principle that machinery which has cost large sums is sometimes suddenly reduced to the value of old iron by the discovery of a new invention which renders its use unnecessary to the social supply. This is exactly the same thing as showing that the value is due "to the social service which is going to render," which is another way of saying that value is due to the cost of production, but not

*Gunton's "Principles of Social Economics," chapter IV, section III; pp., 118-128.

See also Walker's "Political Economy," pp. 137, 311, 312; also Roscher's "Political Economy," volume 1, section 106.

†Gunton's "Wealth and Progress," pp. 83, 89, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171; also "Principles of Social Economics," pp. 203-204.

merely to the cost of past production but of reproduction, as stated by Carey.

If it were true, as it sometimes is to a limited extent, that the social consumption of the commodity is such as to take the product of three different grades of machines, the poorest of which makes the cost of production double that of the best, it would remain true that the product made by the poorest machine would fix the value of the whole. That is the way large profits arise, and this would continue just so long as the product of that poor machine was needed, that is, socially necessary. But let the best machines be increased so as to supply the whole social demand, and the product of the poor one will cease to fix the value because it will cease as a necessary part of the supply. Value will then fall to the equivalent of the cost of producing by the dearest or poorest remaining machine. To say value is determined by the cost of the dearest portion socially necessary is the same as saying value is determined by the marginal cost of production. The dearest portion is the marginal portion.

Of course, desire is the first fact in value creation. When desire reaches a sufficient degree of intensity, it furnishes a motive for production or supply. The first fact on the supply side is cost of production. Whether production will proceed or not depends upon whether the "keenness of desire" or final utility is strong enough to give a price equal to the cost. All desire or final utility short of this is impotent. When desire rises to that point, actual supply begins, and if for any reason it should begin before that point is reached it results in failure. In reality, then, the order of movement in value creation is (1) demand, (2) cost, (3) demand at a price that will cover cost, (4) the efforts of consumers to give as little as possible.

Thus demand creates supply, cost of the dearest

portion fixes the minimum value, and the effort of the consumers to buy at the minimum (or final utility), together with the competition of producers, keeps value down to this point of dearest cost. By the action and reaction of these forces in society, value is fixed where the marginal utility and marginal cost meet; the former preventing it from rising permanently above and the latter from falling permanently below the cost of producing the most expensive portion of the aggregate supply continuously demanded. Therefore, the logical outcome, as Dr. Seligman clearly shows, is that both the cost theory and the marginal-utility theory lead to the same result. This being true, the only question worth considering is, which of the two theories has the greatest social utility.

"Since all progress consists in getting more results with less effort," says Dr. Seligman, "the problem of social cost and social surplus becomes one of basic importance. . . . The way to increase the surplus is to maximize the results and to minimize the efforts; that is, to increase utilities and to decrease costs." Here he gets at the real nub of the whole subject. If it be true that progress consists in giving society more wealth at less cost, it follows that the emphasis of economic policy, both in the shop, market and in politics, should be laid upon the influences and conditions which will promote the methods that reduce the cost of production. The cost theory leads directly to this. It shows that whatever may be the effect of utility, social marginal utility, or individual marginal utility, there can be no increase of surplus and hence of public wealth, unless there is a reduction in the cost of production.

In what way does the marginal-utility theory aid this result? It furnishes no feasible basis for individual or public policy, it neither directly nor indirectly sug-

gests or leads up to a suggestion of how to increase the wealth or lessen the drudgery of society. It furnishes no clue to any means of advancing social welfare, it is essentially abstract, technical, involved, and far removed from real touch with all economic and political action. To all the practical questions of economic and political policy it is a veritable sphinx.

The cost theory, on the other hand, leads directly to the core of everyday experience. It recognizes the fact that social progress involves increasing the surplus wealth of the community by creating more utility with less effort, and it says this can be done only by reducing the cost of production per unit. This furnishes the fulcrum upon which to rest the economic lever to lift society. To the inventor it says, Devise methods which shall produce more with less expense. To the capitalist it says, Improved machinery is the only means for increased profits. To the statesman it says, The way to promote national progress is to encourage by public policy all the opportunities and influences which will promote invention and the use of more economic devices in production. So it furnishes a direct scientific stimulus to all the principal forces of social progress. And to the laborer it has the same encouraging word. It says, The way to increase wages is to increase the cost of labor by raising the standard of living. Thus, through improved social life, the laborer secures an increasing portion of the aggregate means of social welfare. This furnishes scientific stimulus to the social movements of the laboring class, and rational public policy protecting and encouraging the influences which promote the social consumption of the masses. Thus it furnishes a rational principle that directly promotes the development of cheaper wealth and dearer men, which are the two essential elements of advancing civilization.

IS "AMERICA" A NATIVE OR IMPORTED NAME?

VAN BUREN DENSLOW, LL.D.

The impression that the American continent has derived its name from the Florentine "merchant and geographer," whose name has been alleged by some to have been "Amerigo Vespucci," and that thereby an injustice was done to Columbus, retains a firm hold on the popular mind and is even sustained in part by the *vis inertia* of that class of scholars who do not care to be bothered by it. Secretary of State Blaine expressed the opinion that the continents should yet be named "Columbia" if only to emphasize their disgust at the charlatanry of Vespuccius. The late ex-President Benjamin Harrison concurred in the same sentiment. Both these influential publicists ignored or attached but slight importance to the three attempts which have been made to prove that the name was not derived from Vespuccius. These were by Prof. Jules Marcou (1875), Lambert (1883) and de St. Bris (1888).

Prof. Jules Marcou opened his attack on the Vespuccian fable in a paper on "The Original Name of America" in the *Atlantic Monthly* (March 1875) XXXV, 291, and in "Sur l'origine du nom d'America" in the *Bulletin de la Societe de Geographie de Paris*, June 1875; and by a further paper in the *New York Nation* in 1884. Marcou held that the word *Americ* or *Amerique* was the native designation of a range of mountains in Central America. But the name America had appeared in a work published in Europe in 1507 within ten years after the discovery of the mainland by Columbus and many years before the name of mountains in Central America could have been known there. He also held

that Vespucci's christian name was Albericus or Alberico, and denied that any genuine autographs make it Amerigo. Mr. Justin Winsor in his "Narrative and Critical History of America" (Vol. I., p. 179), says: "Nothing was more common in those days than variety in the fashioning of names. We find the Florentine name variously written, Amerigo, Merigo, Amerigo, Alberico, Alberigo." But in failing to state that these names are found in signatures written by Vespucci himself he fails to join issue with Marcou. Hojeda, with whom Vespucci was once thought to have sailed (Vespucci says) called him Morigo. But outside Vespucci's own writings there is no evidence that he ever sailed at all. No Portuguese record contains his name. Spanish archives mention him only as a merchant who sold supplies to Columbus for his third voyage. In the best known of his writings his name appears as Alberic. This, too, in the very narratives which are relied upon to establish that he was an explorer. In 1502 and 1504, he wrote an account of voyages under the title "Mundus Novus," or New World, and affixed his name as Alberic.

A facsimile of the title page of this work appears on pp. 157 and 158 of Winsor's "Critical History," (Vol. II.)

Nevertheless in 1507, three years later, a coterie of geographers which edited *Cosmographic Introductio*, at St. Diez in Lorraine, assumed the name of Vespucci to be Amerigo. In that work first appears the attempt to call the continent "America" on the ground that to do so would be naming it after its discoverer.

Its editors say: "And the fourth part of the world having been discovered by Americus, it may be called Amerige, that is the land of Americus or America." And again: "Now truly as these regions are more widely explored and another fourth is discovered, by

Americus Vespucius, as may be learned from the following letters, I see no reason why it should not justly be called Amerigen, that is the land of Americus, or America, from Americus its discoverer, inasmuch as both Europe and Asia have chosen their names from the feminine form." Apparently these editors had never seen the "*Mundus Novus*" in which Vespucius had three years earlier published himself as Alberic. Had they done so, they must have named the continent Alberica.

As late as 1555 a royal quarto was published in Latin, and now in the Astor Library, entitled "*Novis Orbis Regionum, etc., Cosmographica*." In this work seven pages are devoted to the supposed voyages of Vespucius, but the work styles him Alberice Vesputii. This indicates that for half a century after the little St. Diez group had christened Vespucci by the name "Amerigo," a considerable portion of the learned world knew him as Alberic. By an unhappy and sinister blunder this St. Diez utterance is also the true source of the false notion that Vespucius discovered the continent before Columbus.

The letters date Vespucius' first voyage in 1497, while Columbus only sailed on that third voyage, in which he reached the mainland, in May, 1499. On this point Mr. Justin Winsor says ("*Critical Hist.*," etc., Vol. II., p. 142): "Assuming the letters attributed to him to be his, he made four voyages, of each of which he wrote a narrative. According to the dates given in these letters, he twice sailed from Spain by order of Ferdinand, in May, 1497, and in May, 1499; and twice from Portugal in the service of King Emanuel, in May, 1501, and in May, 1503. But not a scrap of the original manuscript of these letters is known to exist, and it is not even positively known in what tongue his letters were written."

Upon the question of Vespuccius having made a voyage in 1497, Mr. Winsor says: "The official records of expenses incurred in fitting out the ships for western expeditions, show that from the middle of April, 1497, to the end of May, 1498, Vespuccius was busily engaged at Seville and San Lucar in the equipment of the fleet with which Columbus sailed on his third voyage. The *alibi*, therefore, is complete. Vespuccius could not have been absent from Spain from May, 1497, to October, 1498—the period of his alleged first voyage. . . . The positive evidence, on the other hand, is unquestioned that Columbus sailed from San Lucar on his third voyage on the 30th of May, 1498, and two months later reached the Western Continent about the Gulf of Paria."

A cloud of contradiction envelops Vespuccius' narrations at other points. Munoz was the first to discover that the pretended chart of Vespuccius' voyage by course and distance would have carried his vessel nine hundred miles over land into the heart of South America and far up the slopes of the Andes. This was a very natural error if we suppose Vespuccius to have been only a ship chandler of San Lucar, who "stuck to his desk and never went to sea," since in the early maps of the space now occupied by South America, all but a narrow strip of territory from the mouth of the Amazon to the Isthmus of Darien was open sea.

Another early critic remarks that Vespuccius accurately observed an eclipse at a date and place where, by computation, no eclipse occurred, and outlines his movements in a manner which would have prevented him from seeing the eclipse at all.

His name is never mentioned by any other voyager as present, whether as guest, pilot or otherwise. He held no official position in connection with any Spanish or Portuguese expedition or vessel. His name does

not exist in the archives of Portugal, though they contain more than 100,000 documents relating to voyages of discovery. Nor is he mentioned among the many valuable manuscripts belonging to the Library at Paris. (Justin Winsor, "Crit. Hist.," Vol. 2, 137-8).

It was in the year 1502 to 1504 that Vespucci, under the names of Alberic Vespucci and Albericus Vespucius, wrote two letters to L. P. Francisco de Medici. A printed copy of one of these is now in the Lenox Library and of the other in that of Dresden. In these he styles the country "Mundus Novus," and so many editions of these letters exist that the name "Mundus Novus" has become the common appellation of them all.

The letters to the Medici are so widely preserved that copies are to be found in a score of the world's leading libraries. (See "Winsor," Vol. 2, p. 159.) They seem to refute the imputation that Vespucci claimed the name of *Amerigo* or was any party to the scheme to credit the name America to him as the discoverer of the continent. The publication at St. Diez of the reputed letters from Vespucci to King Rene of Lorraine, seems to have changed Vespucci's name from Alberic, as he had published it, to *Amerigo*, but without any authority in the text of Vespucci's letter, and they also purported to name the continent after him, by a name which he had furnished every evidence was not his. Las Casas, Koch, and other early critics charge Vespucci with fraud in that he inserted the name "America" in maps accompanying his letters. Las Casas writing in 1527, just twenty years after the publication at St. Diez says: "Amerigo is said to have placed the name "America" on maps thus sinfully failing toward the Admiral. If he purposely gave currency to this belief in his first setting foot on the main, it was

a great wickedness; and if it was not done intentionally, it looks like it."

Of course Las Casas could not have thought this if he had seen Vespucci's two letters of 1502-4 to de Medici, wherein he had both named himself Alberic instead of Amerigo and had named the continent *Nuovo Mondo* instead of America.

If any maps started the name *America*, they are now lost, and Justin Winsor declares that Vespucci died (1516) before any map naming the continent "America" issued.—("Crit. Hist.," Vol. II., p. 174). But if there were maps, prominent on them must have appeared the name *Maracai-bo* the village where Columbus was so kindly received, and where the natives proudly returned all his presents when they found he was too conscientious to accept theirs. On these maps may also have appeared the gulf of the same name on which the village lay and the lake *Maricai-bo* and the coast *Amaracapaná* along which Columbus and Hojeda had in fact sailed to reach it. No one may then have known that a considerable section of the Andes bore the name of *Cun-din-Amarca*. The names *Amaraca* and *Maracai-bo* were found by Columbus indelibly stamped upon the immediate points he visited. Vespucci may have published maps exhibiting these names; these would be the names which would naturally get the ear of far-away Europe. Dropping the suffixes *bo* for water and *paná* for land the name would be essentially "America." Hence the weakness of Prof. Marcou's argument consisted in his finding the name America in the mountains of Central America, which Columbus indeed saw in the interior, but whose names were unlikely to have reached him, instead of in the spot where he landed and was entertained.

Mr. T. H. Lambert in the "Bulletin of the American Geographical Society" (Vol. I. of 1883), argued that

the origin of the name was to be found in the names Amaraca, Cax-Amarca, Amarca, etc., given by the Peruvians either to prominent portions of their country or to their whole country, as appears in Prescott's "Conquest of Peru." This fact, however, could not account for the application of the name America to the continent even by a small or obscure group of persons in Europe in 1507. Peru and its names remained nearly unknown until the conquest by Pizarro in 1531. Mr. Winsor, therefore, might well say of both Marcou's and Lambert's efforts, "Neither of which theories have received, or are likely to receive, any considerable acceptance."

At about this time a third writer, a South American, put forth a work which was reproduced in an American pamphlet in English in a form not attractive to the critical reader. He found the name America in the form of *Maracai-bo* and *Amaraca-pana* attaching to the coast, gulf, lake and village which Columbus was the first European to visit. He shows that this name extends in some form from the *Maracai-bo* gulf and *Amaraca-pana* coast near the Orinoco's outlet to the mountains regions of *Cun-din-Amarca* around Bogota, and thence over the heights of the Andes as far to the south as Cax-Amaraca, And-Amaraca and Cass-Amarca in Peru. It is not yet clear what hidden charm or power lay in this word which caused it to be so lovingly and widely applied. It filled the area occupied by the present three republics of Venezuela, Columbia and Ecuador. The native name of the River Amazon, according to Irving and Humboldt, was *Maragnon*. This name still contends with that of Amazon for pre-eminence along both the head waters of the river and near its exit. The claims of the South American writer, de St. Bris, might therefore be extended so far as to inquire whether *Maragnon* does not embody the

same important root as the other cognate names Maracai and Amaraca.

Having thus outlined the claims of those who have contended that the name America was of wide acceptance for mountains, valleys, rivers, coasts, gulfs, lakes and towns before Columbus arrived, let us see how the case stood prior to the birth of this theory.

The "Researches Respecting Americus Vespucius and his Voyages," by the Viscount Santarem, ex-Premier of Portugal and member of the Institute of France (1850), was written to explode the claims of Vespucci as a navigator and explorer. It made known that his name nowhere appears on Portuguese records; that he could not have been in the service of Portugal in any capacity since those records involve upwards of 100,000 documents relating to discovery. He says, page 22, note: "It is proved that Vespucius having got possession of the narratives of Hojeda, brought them out as his own.

Koch in his "List of Revolutions in Europe," Vol. I., p. 208, says: "A Florentine merchant, by name Americus Vespucius, followed closely in the footsteps of the Genoese navigator, under the guidance of a Spanish Captain called Alonso de Hojeda. He made a number of voyages to the new world, visited several coasts of the South American Continent, and in the maps of discoveries which he drew up he arrogated to himself a glory which was not his due, by giving his own name to a new continent, whence it happened that this name, the name of America, has been constantly applied to that country ever since." Here, before it had become known that Vespucius was a charlatan *in toto*, it was suspected that he was untrustworthy in such details as had come to light. It was thought to be Vespucius' maps that had started the name. This belief could have arisen only after it was believed that his name was Amerigo, and would become plausible if

his maps carried over the name "Maracai," in some of its various forms.

Washington Irving in the appendix to his "Life of Columbus," Vol. III., p. 343, says: "The first suggestion of the name appears to have been in the Latin work already cited, published in St. Diez in Lorraine in 1507, in which was inserted the letter of Vespucci to King Rene. The author (Waldseemüller) after speaking of the other three parts of the world, Asia, Africa and Europe, recommends that the fourth shall be called Amerigo or America after Vespucci whom he imagined its discoverer."

But the errors, however originating, of the less informed Waldseemüller writing in 1507, disappear before the obviously genuine and numerous duplicated "*Mundus Novus*" letter, still extant, wherein Vespuccius himself entitles the continent visited by him the "new world" and signs his name *Alberic*. He could not have published to all mankind more conspicuously that he did not possess the name as Amerigo and therefore could not confer it.

Girolamo Benzoni, a Milanese, in his "Historia del Mondo Nuovo," published at Venice in 1565, says, concerning Hojeda whom Vespuccius is supposed to have accompanied (p. 7 of trans.) "The Governor shortly after left Cumana with all his company, and coasting westward, went to Amaraca-pana; this was a town of about forty houses, and four hundred Spaniards resided there constantly, who annually elected a captain."

Humboldt in his "Relations Historiques," a narrative of personal observations chiefly in South America from 1799 to 1840, writes, Vol. I, p. 324, that "the first settlement of the Spaniards on the mainland was at Amaraca-pana." The coast between the Capes Paria and de la Vela, appears under the names of Amaraca-

pana and Maracapana in Codezzio's map of Venezuela showing the voyages of Columbus and others and in the maps accompanying Humboldt's vast Geographical Treatise. From thence these names reappear in the maps accompanying Mr. Arthur Help's "History of the Spanish Conquests in America," and in more or less of the popular maps of this region.

Herarra in "General History of the West Indies or Lands of the Spaniards, in the Islands and Mainlands on the Ocean Sea," gives the history of the voyage of Ojeda (1499) whom Amerigo Vespucci accompanied as a merchant and says: "Finally he arrived at a port, where they saw a village on the shore, called *Maracai-bo* by the natives, which had twenty-six large houses of bell shape, built on pillars or supports with swinging bridges leading from one another, and as this looked like Venice in appearance, he gave it that name, which was subsequently adopted by the republic of Venezuela."

The Indian name of the river Amazon was Marag-non. At the mouth of the great river all the standard maps place the island Marajo, and a little to the northward lies the island Maraca. In all these the root name is evidently the same as in Maracaibo. Indian names are determined by the consonant sounds, the vowels being variable. Thus in the North American Continent the one Indian word meaning "long river," is spelled in English by the two words "Connecticut" and "Kentucky." The present difference of sound between the two words is effected by a slight divergence in the accentuation of vowels among the same consonants. If we suppose a third vowel *a* after the *g* to have been clipped in the name "Marag-non," we have Maraga-non which is plainly pointed to by Humboldt's name Marag-non, and which is essentially identical with the name America with a suffix of subordinate meaning.

Sir Walter Raleigh reached what is now called Venezuela in 1595 and wrote of it as "The Bewtiful valley of Amerioca pana." Sir Walter also, writing in 1596, described one of the younger brothers of Atabalpa or Atahualpa, the Inca of Peru, whom the Spaniards under Pizarro had slain, as taking thousands of the soldiers and nobles of Peru, and with these "vanquished all that tract and valley of America situated between the Rivers Orinoco and Amazon." Sir Walter here shows perfect knowledge of the fact that while the name America had passed to the whole continent it was still in use as a local native name for the very region which Columbus certainly and Vespuccius possibly first visited.

Besides this the name given to the whole country between the coast of Amaraca pana, which stretched from the Orinoco River to Maracai-bo bay, and thence to the Pacific was called Amarca or Amaraca, or in the mountains mapped by Humboldt himself, Cun-din-Amarca, while the whole country now known as Bogota and stretching down to Peru was called Cax-Amarca. Along the heights of the Andes in this region the name again appears in the Capital City which was called Cax-Amaraca, where Pizarro fought the Peruvians, in his first and chief battle; also in one of his nearby towns, called Pult-Amarca, and in the three other local names strewn to the southward along the Andes, of And-Amarca, Cal-Amarca and Catamaraca. In the earlier maps there lay, in the Carribean Sea, off the coast of Amaraca-pana the large island of Tamaraque; but in one Portugese map this island is placed at the outlet of the Amazon, where, as above noted, the large island still bears nearly the same name Marijo. The name Tamaraque with the accent on the third *a* is a Spanish mode of spelling the same word. It was also a name given to one of the gods, or one of the names given to the Great

Spirit by the natives of the country. Passing far away to the continent of North America we find that the native name Tamarack denotes a tree remarkable for its strength, which is found in the swampy portions of the forests throughout North America from Baltimore to Hudson Bay. That any word denoting strength, or name of an object possessing strength, may easily be applied to express Diety appears in the Egyptian application of the name Ammon, to Jupiter, and in the application by the Sacs and Sioux around Lake Michigan of the word "Chicago" meaning an animal of the strongest odor, to the Great Spirit.

Probably the name America simply forced its way on the first maps, whether made by Vespuccius or by others, because it was more prominent in the points first visited than any other native name except Paria, and was more pervasive than Paria, since it belonged to the principal coast line, gulf, lake and village then known. Here Columbus was so hospitably received with dances and gifts by the Indians that he compared it to a reception by angels. Here Vespucci a little later, if he accompanied Hojeda, found a town regularly garrisoned by four hundred Spaniards. Even if Vespucci really possessed this name Amerigo and found one so nearly like it attached to the chief features of the country he could not foresee that his name would ever spread over the continent, as nobody really knew then that there was a continent. Columbus had ingeniously inferred from the vastness of the current of the Orinoco that there was a continent behind. The actual existence of a continent was not demonstrated until the subsequent coasting along Brazil by Pinzon and Hojeda. The two regions were first mapped as separate islands, of which the most northern was America and the more southern was the Brazils with a narrow isthmus sometimes connecting them. Justin Winsor (Vol. II., p. 174) says:

"No one can dispute, however, that he was dead before his name was applied to the new discoveries on any published map."

The earliest maps published do not contain the name America, but have *Nieu Weldt*, *Nuevo Mondo*, *Terra Incognita* and *Terra Sanctæ Crucis*.

As early as 1541 a map was printed by Mercator with the name *Amerique* divided, the first half being on the North American Continent opposite Baccalaïos (the codfisheries) Cape Cod, and the second half as low as Rio Janeiro in Brazil. The first globe containing the name "America" was issued by Schoner in 1515 (Winsor). Hence the spread of the name over the Brazils and over the whole of South and North America, seems to have resulted, without individual motive, from its being the local name at so many of the points first known.

A historical precedent for this spread of the name is found in the similar extension of the names of the other three continents. Europe was originally the name only of a small village in Thessaly. But probably because it was immediately to the west of the Hellespont or Bosphorus it became the means by which those to the east of those waters designated the whole area to the west of it. So in like manner Asia first applied to a very small part of the present Asia Minor, lying east of the dividing waters. Africa meant at first a little tract around Carthage, which came to the notice of the Romans through their wars with Carthage. The prevailing name for the continent among the Greeks seemed likely for centuries to be Lybia, but the Greek power paled before Roman, the Greek name Lybia subsided before the Roman name Africa. So Egypt was the Greek name only for a small town in the Delta of the Nile where the Greeks traded. The native name for the whole country was an Egyptian word *Kemi*, signi-

fying black-land. But the Greeks being more influential in the literature of the surrounding world than the Egyptians the foreign designation ultimately superseded the domestic, not only abroad but at home.

The name China originally designated only the first little mountain tract by which travelers passing from India to China would enter on Chinese territory. It ultimately came to be the official name of the country.

These considerations impart new dignity to the name America. They show that it was arrived at by the same process of enlargement of a local native name as that by which all the other continents have been named. They divest the reputation of Vespucci of much odium, though they wholly retire him from the rank of navigator or discoverer. They connect the name with the original designation of the mighty Amazon and with a name expressive of Diety. They even find the exact name recorded without variation in the primeval forests of North America as a native appellation of one of the most pervasive and beautiful trees of the North American continent. It is also matter of inquiry, whether the native name Mexico (pronounced Mehico by the Spanish) is akin in meaning as well as in sound, to the great word Marica and Mariga which fills so large a field among the native names of the southern continent.

Perhaps also Columbus was moved by an unconscious purpose wiser than he knew, when he named the second land to which he attempted to give a name, Mariga-lante, a name accidentally approaching in sound to America-land. This name was intended only as a compliment to the vessel in which he sailed, the gallant "Santa Maria," just as the voyage in which she behaved so gallantly was intended to reach the Indies. But if a higher purpose determined that she should dash her keel into the sands of a new world, may it not also have

determined that while naming it apparently after the gallant ship he should also restore to the continent its ancient name America?

The interesting question whether the name America is indigenous should be authoritatively settled. The United States of America might well join with the other American powers throughout the three continents, in appointing a commission of historical, ethnological and linguistic experts to determine it. Such an authority would be recognized throughout the world and would accomplish a result worthy in many moral and historical aspects of the labor involved. If in fact the name America is wholly American, if it was never worn by the questionable character with whom it has stood pilloried in an equivocal and odious relation for four centuries, then it is due to the proper pride of this great nation of the earth, the United States of America, in whose name it forms the distinctive feature, that the word should be relieved of the burden under which it has heretofore rested. Whatever its original meaning may have been, the gentle, hospitable, simple natives of the southern continent described by it their deepest gulf and a wide region filled with their highest mountains. They applied it to their largest capital and one of their most beautiful valleys. Finally, it is said to stand for their most sacred conception of the Mysterious Spirit which fashioned all these by the majesty of His power and the efficacy of His will. A name thus interwoven with the great features of the continent before Columbus arrived is launched into a deeper and greater dignity when every tie that connects it with a merely pretended discoverer is severed.

The question "whence came the name America" has to be taught annually now to fifty millions of youth on the three continents. It is disgraceful to teach it falsely now that the truth is apparent.

MORE LIGHT ON THE MACHINISTS' STRIKE

In an "Editorial Crucible" in our last issue we criticized the International Machinists for having broken their agreement with the National Metal Trades Association, and in doing so remarked that the strike was against what is known as the "premium system." This last was an error. The present strike of the machinists is against wages being reduced proportionately to the reduction of hours from 57 to 54 per week, which was to have gone into effect May 20, 1901.

The opposition to the premium system was the cause of the machinists' strike which existed a few months prior to the present one. We have received a letter from Mr. James O'Connell, president of the International Association of Machinists, calling attention to this error and denying that the machinists have broken their agreement with the National Metal Trades Association. He insists that the machinists have always been willing and ready to arbitrate any question in dispute. His statement is as follows:

"The machinists' strike was the result of a failure to agree prior to May 20th on the wage question. There was no other question in dispute or up for consideration at that time. The National Metal Trades Association having agreed to reduce the hours to 54 per week May 18, 1901, the question to be settled was whether the machinists should accept a reduction of wages with the reduction of hours, or whether they should receive a sufficient increase in wages per hour to make up for the difference in the shortening of the work day.

"The question of wages, therefore, affected every member of the National Metal Trades Association. The International Association of Machinists, through its officials, desired to have the wage question adjusted by the administrative council of the National Metal Trades Association on a national basis, so that when a decision was rendered it would be binding upon all firms holding membership in the National Metal Trades Association.

"The administrative council of the National Metal Trades Association informed the officials of the International Association of Machinists that they were not empowered to handle the wage question for their

members nationally and that it must be adjusted locally. We objected to this method of settling the question, as it would consume an unlimited amount of time, and as the administrative council represented a national association, we felt that they should be prepared to bind all members of their association as we were in a position to do for the International Association of Machinists.

"The strike was ordered not against the introduction of the 'premium system,' but because the National Metal Trades Association would not arbitrate the question of wages nationally and bind all its members to conform to any decision that might be reached relative to the basis of wages to be paid from May 18, 1901.

"We were always willing and ready to arbitrate any question in dispute with the National Metal Trades Association, and up to the very date when the strike was ordered we were willing to arbitrate the question on a national basis.

"Very truly yours,

"JAS. O'CONNELL."

The above statement of President O'Connell is a clear and straightforward statement of the case, so far as it goes, but it does not state the whole case. It will be observed that he emphasizes the fact that the machinists are ready to arbitrate, but insists that the National Metal Trades Association arbitrate the wage question for all the firms throughout the country in its organization. This is exactly the point at issue between the two organizations. The only way clearly to ascertain which side has broken the agreement, and one of them certainly has, is to review the facts as set forth in the different agreements between the two organizations.

At a meeting of the administrative council of the National Metal Trades Association, at the Grand Pacific Hotel, Chicago, March 17, 1900, a joint agreement was drawn up which was concurred in by the International Association of Machinists, March 31st, 1900. This agreement pledged both organizations to submit all questions in dispute to arbitration, the decision of the arbitrators to be final for both sides. At a subsequent meeting of the representatives of both associations, held at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York city, Novem-

ber 16th, 1900, the details for conducting arbitration were agreed upon, which provided that, when a dispute arises between the employer and the employees of any establishment in the association, reasonable efforts shall be made to adjust the difficulty satisfactorily. That failing, the case shall be referred to one representative of each party. If this fails, either party shall have the right to ask a conference between the presidents of the two associations, and in the event of their being unable to agree the case "shall then be referred to arbitration, as provided in the agreement of May 18th," the findings of this arbitration by a majority vote to be final.

This definitely provides that all cases of dispute shall be arbitrated locally, and clearly precludes Mr. O'Connell's demand that the question shall be arbitrated by the national association for all concerns in the country. Had this agreement remained intact, the present demand of the machinists would clearly put them in the wrong. But, at the third annual convention of the National Metal Trades Association, held at Detroit, April 10th, 1901, it was especially resolved that disputes about wages should be referred to the national association, and that the officers of the association proceed at once to take proper steps under the agreement with the International Association of Machinists for such action. This clearly supersedes the New York agreement of November 16th, 1900, and sustains Mr. O'Connell's claim that the national association should arbitrate the wage question for all firms in its organization, the refusal to do which caused the strike.

It may be well to note here, as a part of this situation, that the arbitration board representing the two associations, at a meeting held at the Murray Hill Hotel, New York city, May 10th to 18th, 1900, decided that:

" Fifty-seven hours shall constitute a week's work from and after six months from the date of the final adoption of a joint agreement, and fifty-four hours shall constitute a week's work from and after twelve months from the date of the final adoption of a joint agreement. The hours to be divided as will best suit the convenience of the employer.

" Note:—This is not to interfere in any way with shops where a less number of hours per week is already in operation."

In accordance with this resolution the 54-hour system was to go into operation on the 20th of May, 1901. The question naturally arose as to whether the wages of day workers should be reduced with the reduction of hours or should remain unchanged. The machinists very properly wanted the same wages as under the longer working day. In pursuance of the original agreement between the two associations, that all matters of wages be referred to and if needs be arbitrated by local firms, the machinists drew up a statement setting forth the points agreed upon in the joint arrangement, and adding one providing that " an increase of $12\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. over the present rates is hereby granted, to take effect May 20th, 1901," this being to cover the difference created by the 54-hour system.

In reply to this, the firms declined to pass upon the question of wages and referred it to the national association, as ordered by the Detroit meeting. A copy of one such reply from a firm in Ansonia, Conn., under date of May 1st, quoting the Detroit resolution as the basis for its action, is before us. The manufacturers having thus declined to consider the question of wages individually, and referring it back to the national association, the representatives of the machinists very properly appealed to the national association to decide the question at the meeting in New York, May 10th, ten days before the date set for adopting the 54-hour system.

All the facts in the situation show that the ma-

chinists lived up to the agreement to the letter, and that the demand that the employers' association decide the question of wages for all the firms was based upon the employers' own decision in the convention at Detroit and the action of local firms in accordance with that decision. In refusing to do that, therefore, it was the manufacturers, not the machinists, who departed from the agreement.

Though this conclusively shows that the laborers did not violate their contract, it does not close the matter. There is abundant evidence that this refusal of the manufacturers' association to arbitrate the wage question for all the firms in the country at once did not result from any disposition to depart from the agreement. It had been found that it was infeasible for the national association to determine an increase of wages for all the firms in the country. They saw that they could not possibly enforce such a decision, and so notified President O'Connell and the representatives of the machinists' association. They were, therefore, compelled to fall back upon the original agreement which the machinists confirmed and were acting upon when they sent out their form of agreement to the individual firms. In proof of the good faith of the employers in this matter, the administrative council of the National Metal Trades Association, at the meeting of May 10th, passed the following resolution:

"Resolved, that in case the employees of any shop make a demand for higher wages and their employers fail to agree with them, and the same is passed up to arbitration as called for in the New York agreement and joint resolution of November 16th, 1900, that the findings of such arbitration board shall date back to May 20th, 1901, and the matter must be arbitrated as soon as possible."

This clearly shows the willingness on the part of the manufacturers not merely to live up to their agreement to arbitrate all questions in dispute, but, as in this

case the wage dispute arose out of the 54-hour system beginning May 20th, they provided that all the findings of arbitrators granting the increase of wages should date back to May 20th, 1901, so that the laborers should lose nothing by any delay in the arbitration proceedings. In refusing this, which was apparently the best the manufacturers could do as a national association, the machinists did not break their agreement but they did refuse a most reasonable proposition from the employers' association and thereby force a strike which manifestly might have been avoided and arbitration secured for every case in dispute. Had the machinists accepted what for the moment was the only feasible proposition for the metal trades association to make, they would not merely have shown a disposition to live up to their agreement but a disposition to consider any proposition made in good faith to carry out the objects of that agreement.

There is no valid objection to arbitrating the difficulties locally with different firms. Indeed, the machinists accepted that and acted upon it in sending out their form of agreement to individual firms. Nor had they anything to lose by adopting that when the other was found infeasible. But in demanding that the questions be arbitrated nationally, when that was found impracticable, and declaring a strike on that basis, they forced the issue and assumed the responsibility of a conflict which has already resulted in breaking up the best agreement between organized labor and organized capital that ever existed in any country. Moreover, this rupture has already resulted in converting the manufacturers' association into an anti-labor union organization. The strike at best will be a partial failure. Out of more than one hundred and fifty firms a very small number have granted the 54-hour system and the increased pay; a very large number have not

granted even the 54 hours, to say nothing of the pay, and it is more than probable that the bulk of the concerns will ultimately end with the old 60-hour system and the machinists' association greatly weakened.

The demand of the machinists for the same pay under the 54 as under the 57 and 60-hour systems was reasonable, warranted by all the circumstances of the case, and in all probability it would have been conceded if the machinists had not unnecessarily forced the issue at an impractical point. By this fatal step, a substantial reduction of the hours of labor from ten to nine hours a day, which had been accomplished in two portions of half an hour a day each, six months apart, by peaceful arrangement, in full recognition of the rights of organization on both sides, is likely all to be lost. Labor unions should bear in mind that it is no small part of their duty to educate employers into the adoption of trade-union methods. In doing this they should be ready to reason, persuade and meet them more than half way, showing an ever willingness to accept any modifications which do not sacrifice the vital principle involved. Not to do this will frequently mean failure where success might easily have been assured, of which the present strike is a painful illustration.

THE COFFEE HOUSE PLAN

ARTHUR LAWRENCE SWEETSER

As everyone knows, the trend of population is to the city and consequently there is a tendency to concentrate where expansion is an impossibility. In addition to the city problems of European countries, we have diverse nationalities absorbed but not assimilated. Where the tenement-house population is most thickly crowded and poverty is greatest the saloons are most numerous. If you glance at the map of any large city like New York, Boston, or Chicago, you will see that for every church and school-house there are about ten saloons—often many more—absorbing the earnings of the families, by which they are maintained. “He’s a jolly good fellow. It’s too bad he drinks.” This expression is heard on every side. What does it mean? Men are not naturally bad, but, like the primitive savage, they follow the lines of least resistance. This is encountered in the saloon which they entered, at first, merely to obtain warmth and seek the society of friends. Seeing everyone about laughing and drinking they are tempted to do likewise, under the influence of the moment. It is thus that intemperance begins and leads to misery and ruin.

Yet a stronger motive than society is hunger. Many men who ask you for a dime on the street are too weak to digest food, and spend the money on beer or whiskey. This warms the stomach and deadens the sense of hunger for awhile. The man becomes indifferent to his surroundings and everything seems to be against him. At first the poor fellow tries to get work, but after repeated repulses he considers the task hopeless and surrenders himself to his “fate.” Or, he may have been arrested for some petty offence, and being un-

able to pay his fine is sent to jail. While there he loses his job, and, although fed and sheltered himself, he thinks of his family penniless and starving. When released he is without work and unable to get it owing to the "disgrace" of having been in prison. His is a hopeless struggle and many yield without fighting, getting food when and where they can.

There can be no doubt that the social ministry of the saloon is great, but the objection is that it is used as a means to lure men to the indulgence of an appetite which, in turn, leads them to seek the gratification of selfish desires. Owing to the fact that saloons are allowed almost a monopoly of catering to certain legitimate wants, they have some excuse for their existence. Many citizens wish that there were more of them, because they bring in a large revenue, while others demand their abolition *in toto*. It is idle to suppose that they can be suppressed without substituting something in their place. Not abolition, but displacement, is the true method of reform and to take the place of the saloon something better must be offered. As General Booth said: "Reformers will never be free from the saloon until they can outbid it in the subsidiary attractions which it offers to its customers." The evils of intemperance, especially among laboring men and their families, are so great that every means should be tried to prevent them. Some advocate the legislative remedy, but the law is powerless unless sustained by public opinion. Therefore the legislative remedy must be reasonable and practical. Instead of this, these people demand the annihilation of the liquor traffic and such drastic measures in a large city like New York or Chicago would be inoperative and therefore valueless.

Why does the workingman spend his wages at the saloon? Why does he not stay at home with his wife and family? We have bright, cheerful homes while he

often has only a dark, cold room where he can scarcely stretch his legs in comfort, and where all the domestic operations must be carried on. We have pleasant society while he has none. After a chat with his wife he seeks the society of his "mates," for the variety of their conversation is interesting. Where are they found? At the saloon. Give the workingman a place where he can meet his friends, talk, smoke and act with all the freedom to which he is accustomed, and where good coffee and tea with nourishment and stimulus in them take the place of beer and gin, and you set before him for the first time the choice between sobriety and comfort, on the one hand, and dissipation and wretchedness on the other. This is afforded by the coffee-house, and thus it has become the rival of the saloon.

From the introduction of the coffee-berry into England the coffee house has been a prominent feature in London life. The literature of the 18th century is full of references to it, but at this time it was not considered as a possible rival of the saloon, being rather a tavern where tea and coffee were served for two pence and, on leaving, a penny was deposited for the use of light, heat and newspapers. By 1830 the temperance societies of Scotland had established and successfully operated coffee houses in nearly all the principal towns and cities. These combined every attraction of the saloon except the bar; also daily and weekly papers, games and entertainments. The movement spread rapidly, and the English cities adopted the idea, the first being opened in Liverpool near the docks, and served refreshments at the lowest possible prices, in addition to the above attractions. Strong corporations were organized to engage in the business, and all proved that the coffee house could be made a success without charitable assistance, and also pay large dividends.

These coffee houses were established where the saloons were thickest, and men and women of untidy abodes were induced to enter and be happy while talking with friends over a cup of tea or coffee. The knowledge of these successes in Great Britain led to their establishment in Australia, Canada, and later in this country. Here the progress has been slow, owing to poor judgment as to the selection of suitable sites and in catering to the tastes of the community. Of the coffee houses in America we have two distinct types. The first is philanthropic in purpose but carried on under business principles. This is little more than a restaurant, aiming to give "first-class food" in great variety at low prices, with an adjoining billiard and pool room. The food is good and well-cooked, the prices suggesting the business motive. Thus this type of coffee-house is like the other cheap-food restaurants throughout our cities. Yet, although some people think that such places are not a factor in opposition to the saloons, they are even more so now, because they are doing more good in the cause of temperance, in an unconscious way, than any other movement possibly could. They supply good wholesome food at cheap prices, and good spring water takes the place of beer or ale formerly used by business men with their dinner.

Another type is that represented by the coffee houses of the Church Temperance Society. Its aim is to make them as nearly like the saloon as possible, without the liquor. Being purely philanthropic, they are not meant to be self-supporting, and so rely on the annual contributions of friends. The work of the society is chiefly winter work, since the coffee houses are meant to rival the saloons as places of comfort, in contrast to a crowded tenement or street corner. Being rivals of the saloons, they are placed in saloon neighborhoods, with the entrance on the street floor, so that it is

just as easy to turn in here as into the saloon. The rooms are plainly furnished, because experience has taught that only substantial tables and chairs can stand the rough wear to which they are subjected. As the feeling of freedom of action is one of the attractions, the rooms are made like those to which the men have been accustomed. The chief attractions are the pool tables and other games, also illustrated comic and weekly papers, and at least one entertainment a week. These consist of talks on popular subjects of the day—history, science, art and travel, illustrated by stereopticon slides. Thus the lectures have become a field for an elevating, educational, and inspiring work. One young fellow said: "Most of us live in miserable lodgings, where we are not wanted during the evening. Then several of us often sleep in one room, and this is cold and dark. We have nowhere to go on a cold winter's night except to the saloon, nowhere to sit and often nowhere to take our meals. Coffee houses might save us; model lodging houses might make better men of us; nothing else can."

Everyone knows that in all large cities there is a constant influx of girls, from the country and other places, seeking employment, and who (especially those working in mills and factories) are without friends or the means of spending a pleasant evening in an innocent and improving way. They soon fall into the companionship of the more knowing ones, who for the most part are just as ignorant of innocent and improving pastimes, though they can find a way of being "jolly" and having a "good time." Would it not imply a self-restraint almost beyond the average human nature, if they did not yield to the social attractions that are nearest to them? We know what a dreary little bed-room in a poor lodging house is, and how hard it must be to be obliged to share such a home with uncongenial com-

pany. The temptation to "do as others do" is therefore irresistible, and to do this is the great peril even with classes which ought to have resources of which the class we are now speaking of know hardly anything. To meet this great peril the woman's branch of the Church Temperance Society established girl's coffee houses. The attractions are similar in many respects to those of the men's coffee houses: stereopticon lectures once a week as well as other informal talks, games, Wellesley sewing and singing classes and a good library of suitable books.

Why do our school houses lie idle during the evening? Throughout the large cities these school houses are scattered, according to districts, and as each is provided with an exhibition hall why not let some charitable organization take charge of this during the evening? Here old pupils could meet, hear lectures and play games. The only expense would be for light, heat and janitor service, for two or three hours, and even this would be offset by selling tea or coffee. Thus, without any expense to the community at large, a suitable place would be provided which could do as much good as the coffee houses, for those who formerly came there for instruction would prefer to return to the old place rather than go to a charitable institution which they despise and purposely avoid. By keeping the *alumnæ* together the "society" of the district would be much better, diminishing crime, drunkenness and disorderly conduct.

There is no doubt that the American coffee houses could be run on a paying basis and still be philanthropic in purpose. It is done in Great Britain, why not here? With good judgment and discretion on the part of the manager in catering to the public taste, the restaurant and pool room would offset the other ex-

penses and even have a slight surplus. For this purpose the coffee house should contain :

1. A restaurant, where wholesome and well-cooked food at a cheap rate may be obtained at all hours.

2. A reading room and smoking room, supplied with the latest magazines, newspapers, comic and illustrated weeklies, with sufficiently stringent rules to insure moderately good behavior.

3. A room for billiards and pool, with careful supervision for the prevention of gambling.

4. A large hall, which could be used for lectures or as a meeting-room for religious services on Sunday.

5. And last, but not least, as "cleanliness is next to godliness" hot and cold baths should be provided at the lowest possible rate.

Such establishments should be situated in the poorest districts, because there the need is greatest. Here it would reach the lowest stratum of city life, which is ever ready to be amused or instructed. Admission should be free, cordial and welcome ; the rooms should be neat and cheerful in appearance and have good ventilation. It is preferable to have the door open on the street level rather than up several steps, so that one can turn into the room as easily as into a saloon.

The attendants should be bright, pleasant, friendly and not easily provoked ; able to take chaff from rough customers without offence. When once it becomes known that coffee houses of this description, under proper management, may yield a fair return on the capital invested, funds will be forthcoming for the extension of the movement. The financial success is a very good test of the amount of benefit conferred on the people who have used the coffee houses. That they pay is a sign that they are supported and this is so because they supply a want in our social system.

INFLUENCE OF CORPORATIONS ON GOVERNMENT

It is commonly predicted that one of the numerous evils to be feared from the present concentration of capital is that the large corporations will acquire a controlling influence over the government as well as over industry. Hence the phrase, Shall the corporations own the government or the government own the corporations? has become classic in the "anti-trust" literature. Socialists look upon it as a truism and make it the basis of their claim for the public ownership of industry. Negative alarmists, like Mr. Bryan, who want the government to suppress large corporations in the interest of small ones,—or perhaps, to speak more accurately, in the interest of political disruption,—predict the overthrow of free institutions as the result of corporation control of the government, which is rapidly coming.

This fear of the influence of large corporations upon free government is slowly permeating public opinion in all classes. It finds different forms of expression according to the circumstances, but it is gradually flavoring the thought, if not the fear, of the most conservative classes who are not conspicuously identified with large corporation interests. Great lawyers, even corporation lawyers and conspicuous public men who have spent their lives in public affairs, are not entirely free from this feeling, and with them it is only a feeling, not an opinion. Even so conservative a journal as the *Bankers' Magazine* has become visibly affected by this sentiment. In a recent number it editorially discourses thus:

"The recent consolidation of the iron and steel industries is an indication of the concentration of power that is possible. Every form of business is capable of similar consolidation, and if other industries imi-

tate the example of that concerned with iron and steel, it is easy to see that eventually the government of a country where the productive forces are all mustered and drilled under the control of a few leaders must become the mere tool of those forces. There are many indications, in the control of legislatures, that such is the tendency at the present time in the United States."

This statement of fact may not be entirely disputed. There are indisputable evidences that large corporations are to some extent acquiring control, and often illegitimately, of legislatures and public officials. The important question is, however: Is this undue and sometimes pernicious influence of corporations the natural or necessary result of large concentration of capital, or is it due to less legitimate causes? If it be true, as the *Bankers' Magazine* indicates, that the growth of large corporations means subversion of free government and the death of democracy, then large corporations are an evil; because, while they may have innumerable economic virtues and serve the world cheaper and better, if they take away the people's freedom and substitute political oligarchy for popular government, the evil they are likely to bring more than offsets all the good they may create. There is no amount of economic advantage which can compensate for the overthrow of popular rights and political freedom. Economic improvement, the power to make nature serve man in the hundreds of ways in which capital can be used, contributes to the aggregate human welfare, but for such contribution to be a permanent addition to civilization it must come on the lines of personal freedom and popular government. The power of the people over social and political institutions is an indispensable feature of progress towards a permanently high civilization, and any economic development which tends to destroy this, even if it give us cheap and abundant wealth in exchange for it, is incompatible with the progress of a freedom-giving civilization.

First, then, is this tendency of corporations to control government a necessary feature of large corporate enterprise? Does it grow out of the nature of the case? What is there in the nature or economic character of a large corporation which necessarily creates this tendency! It will not be claimed that capitalists want to run the government for mere public political purposes. If they want to control the government at all, it is that they may better control the field for their industry,—in other words, to make more money. As a matter of fact, this end is accomplished by the very largeness of the corporation. Indeed, that is the object of the concentration. It is not claimed that they concentrate for the purpose of controlling the government, but only that by virtue of their concentration and control over industry and great wealth they acquire control over the government. In other words, that they first acquire the object of their organization, namely, control of the industry, and then get the government. In reality, then, they only get control of the government when such control is no longer of any service. If they had control of the government they would not need the great corporation, but when they have acquired the maximum concentration they do not need the government. In other words, when the concentration of a sufficiently large capital will give them the control of the industrial field, control of the government or political forces is superfluous.

If this be true, we may expect everywhere to find that industrial enterprise seeks government aid, and therefore control of politics, when it is too weak to accomplish its end by purely economic methods, and that, as concerns become larger and larger and economically stronger and stronger, they have less need of political aid and hence less interest in controlling political forces. Historically this is exactly what has occurred. When

industry was in its early stages of development, it demanded and secured the greatest aid from government and consequently control over government. In the middle ages, the merchants demanded monopolies,—and secured them, in return for supporting the government. This was the history of the chartered cities and free towns for centuries. When capital became more efficient and had less need of government aid, it cared less for control of the government and chartered towns gave place to open towns, and so gradually business has come more and more to rely on its economic strength and less and less on political favor in proportion as capitalistic methods have been developed and perfected.

Take our own experience in this country. The chief political aid which industry needed was protection from the competition of foreign capitalists. It needed this the most when concerns were the smallest and corporations were in their infancy. As corporations have grown larger, superior methods been developed and greater economy and efficiency applied, this political aid has become less and less. Many industries have already outgrown the need of it. The iron industry is a striking illustration of this fact. It probably could not have been developed in this country for generations but for the aid of the government in protecting it from foreign competition by a high tariff. Everybody knew that the life of the iron industry depended upon this government aid. At that time capitalists in this industry were nearly as much politicians as they were business men, because politics was about as necessary as capital and business skill to the success of their enterprise. They would make as much exertion to get control of the administration as they would to secure orders against a competitor. But with the growth of large corporations in the iron industry this dependence on government grew less and to the largest concerns it became a matter of

comparative indifference. As an example of this it will be remembered that at the time of the Wilson bill (1894), Mr. Carnegie, the greatest iron producer in the country, and in earlier days the greatest clamorer for a high protective tariff and one of the most liberal contributors to political funds, showed an indifference to the subject and was practically willing to have free trade. Why? Because, through the development of superior means, he had acquired an economic superiority which rendered political aid unnecessary. In other words, he had become independent of protection. His motive, therefore, for controlling the government was gone and he could not be made to contribute as liberally nor take as deep an interest in the success of political management.

The iron industry has taken another stride in development in the billion-and-a-half dollar corporation. Indeed, it is this very step which has led the *Bankers' Magazine* to join in the alarm. Now, what has this large concern to ask from government? What has it to gain by controlling the administration? Nothing. If it ran the government, it could simply legislate to prevent competitors from infringing upon its domain. It can do that now without the government. It has acquired control of sufficient sources of ore, the process of manufacture, methods of transportation and adequate marketing of products. It has acquired wealth enough to give it, in addition to the combination of all these interdependent economic forces, the highest skill and the best methods yet known to the industry. These enable it to more than compete with any rivals which possess less economic advantages. It has thus got all that government could give it and by economic forces. There is no tendency in this to make those who govern this enterprise depend upon the responsibility of running the government. On the contrary, about all they

ask is that the government shall let them alone. This concern has lifted the bulk of the iron industry up to the level which the Carnegie concern occupied before, and thus it has practically become independent of government. The steel corporation does not even need a tariff on its main products, cares nothing about protection from competitors. All it asks is to be allowed a free field in which to operate without arbitrary political interference. Now, if what the *Bankers' Magazine* says is true, and it probably is, that "every form of business is capable of consolidation," then, in the order of economic development, every field of industrial enterprise, instead of having a natural tendency to control the government, will gladly become independent of government, less and less interested in political aid and hence in political control. Indeed, this is the natural economic as well as historic order of industrial development.

If this be true, it may be asked, how comes it that corporations exercise so much influence over legislation in the United States? It must be admitted that there is some truth in the charge, but, as already pointed out, it is not a necessary characteristic of large corporate enterprise. If we examine the facts in this case, and the historic development of corporation influence in politics, we shall find that it is more of a political than of an economic character. As already pointed out, it is true that in a certain stage of industrial development political aid is often necessary to industrial success, but this is always when the industry is in a more or less undeveloped state; that is to say, before it has reached the highest economic efficiency. Progress towards the maximum efficiency, as represented in the largest concerns, obviates this and thus emancipates business from political dependence. So far, therefore, as corporations have any interest in controlling politics, it is not

the larger ones but the smaller ones for whom this control has any advantage.

A little impartial examination of the subject will show that the pernicious influence of corporations in politics arises not from the interest of large corporations to control the government, but from the interest of degenerate and corrupt politicians to control large corporations. This is a matter of gradual development. When the corporations needed political aid they would have recourse to almost any available methods to procure it, conspicuous among which was lobbying in the halls of legislatures. This developed a class of politicians who made it a business to be the political agents of business interests in securing advantageous legislation. There was once behind this a sound economic principle, an industrial necessity. It was important to the national welfare that this protective or helpful encouragement to industry should be secured. But this gradually degenerated from legitimate influence for industrial legislation into professional blackmail. Lobbying became a lucrative political profession, and, like all profitable occupations, attracted an abundance of laborers to that field. As large corporations became less and less in need of political aid they became more reluctant to buy political services, and a depression, verging on a crisis, developed in the lobbying industry. When legitimate business was slack, the lobbyists developed a system of creating new dangers by introducing measures to the injury of corporations, for the purpose of creating a need for their own services, and thus acquired liberal fees to have the injurious legislation defeated. This became a prolific source of income to the lobbying industry until it developed into a vicious system of blackmail of corporations, alike in congress and state legislatures, which became so intoler-

erable that in this industry, as in all others, a reorganization, a kind of "trust," became necessary.

The head politicians, the "machine bosses," adopted the scheme of practically syndicating the whole lobbying business. They said to the corporations: "We will take care of your interests for a lump sum." Bad as it was, this was an improvement on the unlimited pressure of the lobby, and the corporations naturally dropped into it as the lesser of two evils. So the political boss has superseded the promiscuous lobbyists, competition in the lobby has been abolished, and a virtual monopoly established. By this process "bosses" have obtained control of both the corporations and the legislatures, and they use the funds, which the corporations are by this method compelled to contribute, to run the primaries and get control of the election of members of the legislature, and by this means they can say just what the legislature shall do. With this power in their hands, they can go to the large corporations and extort "blood-money" in excessive amounts. Large corporations pay this, not because they need any legislation, not because they want to control the government—they have no use for the government—but simply to be protected against disastrous legislation which shall injure their business. The very habit of paying large sums to these corruptors of our political machinery begets in corporations the idea of asking for illegitimate privileges. There are a few corporations, such as insurance companies and corporations exercising public franchises, that sometimes desire improper legislation, and this habit, which is not due at all to the economic character of the corporations but to the corrupt methods in politics, enables them to get improper privileges. But more than 90 per cent. of corporations which are blackmailed in this way would re-

gard it as a great blessing to be entirely freed from politics and entangling relations with government.

The danger, therefore, of the corrupting influence of corporations upon government does not lie in the interests of the corporations or any motive that arises from large corporations, but it is due to the corrupt character of our political methods, which have been developed under the conditions of small corporations and have become wholly unnecessary to large ones. The remedy is not to lessen the size of corporations but to purify the machinery of our politics. Take from the boss the power to blackmail the corporation and the corporation will gladly disappear from politics. Deprive the boss of the power to deliver legislation and the corporation will cease to pay him for political protection. The safety of our government is not in eliminating the corporation but in eliminating the boss from our politics, and the cure for this is to deprive the boss of his control over the primaries by establishing direct nominations by the people. So long as the boss can dictate the nominations and control political appointments and patronage, he can blackmail corporations, and so long as corporations are blackmailed into paying for political immunity they will naturally tend to aspire to control the government by the same means, because control of the government becomes their only safety from attack. With nominations in the hands of the people, legislatures would become representative of public opinion, the power of the boss to dictate legislation and coerce corporations would be gone, and the interest of large corporations to control the government would disappear. In short, the interest of large corporations would become more and more to leave politics to the people and devote themselves to the economics of industry.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

HON. CHARLES A. TOWNE of Minnesota, the promising young republican statesman who became infatuated with the doctrine of free silver, went over to Bryan and received the populist nomination for vice-president on the Bryan ticket, has seen new light. He has concluded that the silver question is dead.

"By furnishing an increased supply of gold," says Mr. Towne, "God in his wise providence has made the free coinage of silver at 16 to 1 unnecessary."

Of course it is encouraging to note that Mr. Towne could see a thing so obvious, but the astonishment is that he could not see it in 1900. But then Mr. Towne was candidate for vice president on the 16 to 1 ticket. Now he is the president of a Texas oil trust. Oil-light is so penetrating.

MR. BRYAN discourses at great length on the corruption of the "republican" politicians of Philadelphia in the franchise case, and has much to say by insinuations about the president not taking an active stand with John Wanamaker against the franchise thieves. All this would seem like high virtue if Mr. Bryan had not backed looters of the same type in the democratic party. If he had not come to New York and said: "Great is Tammany and Croker is its prophet," giving the entire influence of the presidential candidate to the worst known specimen of political debauchery in the world, and if he had not gone to Kentucky and personally endorsed the case of Goebel in one of the most high-handed political outrages ever perpetrated upon a state, his denunciation of the Philadelphia ring might be regarded with respect; but, in the light of these facts, they sound wonderfully like Croker's denunciation of

poolrooms or Platt's and Quay's plea for honest politics. Actions are more convincing than words.

CANADIANS ARE not so utterly English as we sometimes imagine. While they are very loyal to the empire, as they may well be, for they have a virtual republic, they do not feel called upon to take England's economic policy of free trade. Replying to a recent editorial in the *New York Times*, advocating free trade between Canada and the United States, the *Montreal Star* promptly reminds us that Canada is familiar with the spider and the fly argument, and says:

"Canada has resolved firmly upon the policy of developing her home industries. Whatever party is in power will be obliged to recognize this as the wish of those who think on such subjects and influence people who do not. We have already done too much to build up the industry and advance the prosperity of our neighbors. We buy too much from them and sell them too little. . . . The hope, the ambition, the dream of patriotic Canadians is to see Canada a country filled with an industrious, prosperous population, developing her marvelous natural resources, selling the world her finished product, and not the raw material to be used in furnishing skilled labor with means of a livelihood in foreign countries. This end can be attained, and is being attained, by a policy of protection of home industries. . . . The condition, which protection has brought about, of bringing industries and investors from the United States into Canada, is better for us than to be sending our raw material to be worked up on the other side of the line."

TO OUR REMARK that "manufacturing industries which at this late day cannot succeed without working women and children more than ten hours a day have no right to exist under a protective system in the United States," Mr. Samuel Gompers replies:

"Of course Mr. Gunton could not be expected to make the correction without bringing in the protective system, though how much that has to do with the question is difficult to understand."

It ought not to be difficult to understand that if the protective system has a bearing upon the general

business prosperity of the country it must necessarily have a special bearing upon the opportunities of the laborers to demand shorter hours and higher wages. But, in the particular instance in question, it has very much "to do with the question," because the manufacturers in the South, as in all other states, ask for protection against the cheap labor of foreign countries in order that they may give better wages and conditions to our own laborers. If they will not do that, they are not entitled to protection. Mr. Gompers ought to be able to see the bearing of such a point even though his socialist comrades cannot.

"Our point of view has been that, while we ought to remain as long as the conditions demand, the policy of our government should be to direct the peoples of these islands towards independent self-government rather than towards becoming an integral part of the United States—*Gunton's Magazine*."

Isn't that the evident purpose of the administration, and from a candid and entirely unprejudiced point of view isn't the actual development of the administration policy tending to that end?—*Haverhill Gazette*.

NO, THIS IS NOT the evident purpose of the administration. On the contrary, whatever purpose is evident from the utterances of the president, the official actions of the administration, and of the commission now in charge in the Philippines, is distinctly in the direction of making our possession of the Philippine islands perpetual. Nothing has been said or done by the administration or any responsible representative of it that would warrant the remote inference even that there was any intention of giving the Filipinos "independent self-government." Of course it is true that the Filipinos will have a better and more equitable government under the United States than they had under Spain, but thus far there is no evidence that they are more likely to have "independent self-government" than is Ireland.

THE ADVOCATES of negro disfranchisement are apparently willing to adopt any argument, however specious, or any means, however discreditable, which would accomplish their end. They invented the grandfather-clause theory, to sneak around, because they could not break through the 15th amendment. They are now basing their claim on the policy of the administration in not giving a vote to the natives of Hawaii, Porto Rico and the Philippines, yet, for a year (and throughout the whole of the last national campaign) they have been denouncing this policy as unconstitutional. Now, as if to throw a side light on the real motive behind the whole movement, the *Mobile (Ala.) Register* is advocating that the southern members of congress demand the repeal of the Chinese exclusion law, so that the South can import "a million active Chinese." Freedom has made negro labor too dear for them. Is it not a sacrilege for such people to talk about freedom and the welfare of workingmen? If this is the way the disciples of Jefferson would solve the race question and the labor question in the South, it is clear the matter would better be entrusted to other hands. A slave South was bad enough but the idea of a Chinese South is not to be tolerated for an instant.

SYMPTOMS ARE again visible of a labor disturbance in Fall River, Mass., because of a threatened wage reduction, which is really due to the pressure of competition between New England and the South, in cotton manufacture. Nothing could better illustrate the need of a broad protective policy. In this instance, of course, it cannot come in the form of tariffs, nor should it, but it can and ought to come in the form of uniform hours of labor throughout the country. The interest of civilization demands that the more advanced sections of the country shall not, by reason of their advancement, be put

to a disadvantage as compared with the less advanced. As far as possible, without paternal interference, public policy should insist that the competitive opportunities shall be approximately equal. Wages and other items of cost must be left to the free action of economic forces, but the state can and ought to see that, so far as the legal length of the working day is concerned, for competing industries, it should be alike for all. It is a matter of national importance that the social conditions of the most advanced sections of the country shall not be injured and the standard of life of the laborers lowered by unequal economic conditions which might and ought to be made uniform throughout the country.

"It is to be hoped that the laboring men will win in the present conflict, but if they were as unanimous on election day as they are when a strike is ordered, they could remedy their grievances without a strike or loss of employment." *The Commoner*.

HOW COULD they do this on election day? What could they have voted for that would have remedied these grievances? Would the election of Mr. Bryan have done it? What could he have done to unionize the non-union mills or affect any of the things in dispute between the amalgamated association and the steel corporation? Does Mr. Bryan expect anybody in his senses to believe that free coinage of silver would have done it?—that defeat of the Filipino policy would have done it?—that suppression of trusts would have done it?—that the abolition of national banks would have done it?—or even that the adoption into legislation of the entire Chicago and Kansas City platforms would have done it? It would be just as sensible, and under some conditions far more excusable, to say the laborers "could remedy their grievances without a strike" by all belonging to one church as by all voting for one political party. There is nothing more manifest to the

candid observer than that politics and politicians are utterly incapable of solving the modern economic questions between labor and capital. To proclaim that all grievances of workingmen can be solved at the ballot box savors more of quackery than of statesmanship.

IN A LETTER to the *London Times*, Dr. Fremantle, dean of Ripon, has caused a shock to English sentiment by pointing out with alarm that the number of births in England is declining. In 1875 the children born in the United Kingdom were 34 to each 1,000 of the population; in 1900 only 29. The dean goes on to show that at that rate there will ultimately be no children born in England at all; the population will first be arrested, then actually decline, and if he continue his estimate long enough entirely disappear.

This is a great deal like the Malthusian scare, except in the opposite direction. The diminution in the number of births per thousand of the population does not necessarily imply a diminution in the increase of the population. Children may be born in great numbers and die in squads. The real question in the population problem is not how many children are born, but how many children are reared. They would better never be born than born into the pestilential conditions that insure death to a majority of them under two years of age. The real question for the dean of Ripon to ask is not how many children are born but what proportion of them grow to maturity. If those that are born live, it will be conclusive proof of improved health and social welfare among the population, and whenever the time comes that children which are born live there will be no fear about the decline in population. The dean is evidently alarmed at the wrong end of the problem.

A STRENUOUS EFFORT is now being made by a certain class of journals to show that the decline in the supremacy of British manufactures is attributable to the high wages and short hours exacted by the organized labor of England. Moral—if organized labor in the United States persists in demanding increased wages and shorter hours, it will paralyze and destroy the industrial supremacy of this country. A similar contention is being made by a certain class in New England, that they are losing in competition with the South, because northern labor demands such high pay and short hours, and in the South the manufacturers are opposing an age limit for children and a ten-hour day for factory operatives on the ground that it will handicap them in their competition with the East. Now, what is the logic of all this? Simply that the improvement of the conditions of the working people is an injury to the business prosperity of the capitalists and therefore should be prevented. These short-sighted observers seem not to know that this would be killing the goose that lays the golden egg. For, if the hours of labor in England and in this country had not been shortened and wages increased during the last fifty years, the immense progress in manufactures, trade and commerce would have been impossible, because it is the very increased consumption which this improved condition of labor has created that is the real cause of the prosperity which capital is now enjoying. Those who oppose this movement of economic and social improvement among the masses are the real enemies of national progress.

OUR RESPECTED contemporary, the *Protectionist*, is shocked by our statement that the reappointment of Collector Bidwell is a case of "the surrender of the president and secretary to the spoilsmen . . . to

give office practically as a reward for political crime." It says:

"Surely this is a sweeping indictment and the expressions are such as politicians, not economists, use. In what Collector Bidwell's political crime consisted we do not know."

It then proceeds to defend the removal of Mr. William J. Gibson from the office of counsel before the board of appraisers, and the appointment of Mr. Washburn of Boston to that position. Upon the merits of the Gibson and Washburn case we have expressed no opinion, but the statement regarding the Bidwell case is more than justified by the facts. There is no rule in ethics or journalism why an economist as well as a politician should not call a spade a spade, if he is sure that the spade is a spade. For the means of obtaining full information on the Bidwell case, we refer our contemporary to pages 86 and 87 of the same issue of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE that contained the remarks to which it takes exception. This Magazine is not in the habit of indulging in any mere party controversies. It has no friends to reward nor enemies to punish, nor masters to serve, but, when an instance of bald and bold corruption is discovered which tends to corrupt our public service and disgrace the administration, it deems it its duty to state the facts. Repetition of such practices would soon destroy the influence for good of both the administration and the party.

MR. FRANK MOSS, whose picture is the frontispiece in this issue, is the vigilant watch-dog of New York city against the corrupt doings of Tammany. Mr. Moss is a modest but persistent and unpurchasable man. He served on the board of police commissioners during Mayor Strong's administration, and emerged without a breath of suspicion upon his character. He is counsel for the Society for the Prevention of Crime,

and, whether in office or out, is unceasing in his efforts to track Tammany's doings. Through his extended experience with their methods and devices to protect the haunts and share the profits of crime, he has learned to scent them afar. He was counsel for the Mazet committee, appointed by Governor Roosevelt to investigate the Tammany administration of the city of New York. After having uncovered some odorous practices by the testimony of Mr. Croker and other conspicuous Tammany officials, the Ramapo scandal was reached, and he wanted to call Mr. Platt, when the committee and other republican organization influences intervened. But Mr. Moss could not be suppressed. He decided to call Mr. Platt, fixed a time for his examination, and, as no other way could be found of preventing Moss from probing the Platt as well as the Croker relations to that scheme, the committee adjourned *sine die*. Since then Mr. Moss has gone noiselessly about his business, but with his ear to the ground and his eye on the city's enemy. Last week, he caught the entire police department in a conspiracy to protect criminals through the organized service of the police officers.

Mr. Moss' exposure of this is so conclusive that public opinion is a unit on the subject. There is only one thing that is likely to prevent the people from cleaning out this criminal band from the city administration. That is the deep and too well-founded impression that the republican organization, with its Platt, Quiggs and Bidwells, is little better than Tammany, with its Crokers, Van Wycks and Deverys. The only hope is for the people to rise *en masse* and demand a new type of administration. Mr. Moss has performed the task of proving that the crime exists, and spotting the criminals; the rest is with the people.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

The Power of Chinese Guilds

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Having been a reader of your valuable Magazine for more than ten years past, I take the liberty of enclosing a court report that has in it a subject of some interest to you.

As an explanation of the courts in the foreign settlement of Shanghai, I will say that, under an arrangement in accordance with the treaty, a Chinese magistrate holds his court sitting with a foreign assessor. All cases of violation of law amongst the Chinese, or between Chinese and foreigners, where the Chinese are tried for the offence occurring within the settlement, are tried before this court. The Chinese magistrate is entitled to have the Chinese law executed upon the Chinese accused brought before him.

The case reported herein is one in which the Chinese law seems to come in contact with the spirit of freedom as established in European and American law, Dr. Barchett being the American assessor for the court. My object in sending this to you is to call your attention to the power of the guild in Chinese civilization and government.

There is, I think, no country in which the guild is

so universal in every type of industrial and social life as in China, and nowhere does it so completely dominate every form of commerce and industry as here. It is because of this that foreign influences are not able to penetrate into the great commercial and industrial life of the Chinese people. The failure of foreign cotton mills to make a profit in China is attributed by those who are acquainted with conditions to the manipulation of the local cotton market by the Chinese guild. The failure of soap and other factories, established by foreigners, to make a profit, is chargeable to these commercial guilds buying up the raw material and forcing high prices on the factories.

The establishment of any enterprise by foreigners in China must take into consideration the commercial guilds that quietly but deliberately manipulate and control the market. A failure to grasp this fact and understand its full import has been the cause of most losses of foreign investments in China. Similar to this in spirit, but of a little different type, is the squeeze put upon foreign miners by the Chinese officials, to such an extent in most cases as to capture all the profits of the mines.

It is generally considered therefore that investments of foreign capital in China are valueless unless they are sustained by the army and navy of the nation from which the capital comes, insuring fair treatment.

The thought which I desire to emphasize in this letter to you is the enormous political and industrial power of the guilds in China. Every style of labor and commercial union, from barbers' guild to the all-powerful bankers' guild, is to be found here, and the history of China for two thousand years is filled with experimental and successful organizations of labor and capital in the form of guilds. It is, in fact, almost impossible to comprehend either the social, industrial,

commercial or political life of China without a proper understanding of the power of the guild. The guild in China takes the place of many of the governmental functions that regulate people of other nations, and in this fact is to be found an explanation of the limited amount of governmental interference with the people's affairs.

When I came to China about a year ago I had hoped to be able to make a study of the Chinese guilds; but I soon found the subject vast in detail, and too important in relation to a true knowledge of the Chinese, as well as too extensive in matter of history, to make it possible to make headway without a knowledge of the language spoken and written.

Another serious difficulty in the way of this study is the unreliable nature of information secured by conference with the heads of these various organizations, and the limited information to be gathered from foreign publications. The Chinese are always courteous enough to answer every question asked, even if they have to invent a falsehood to do it. I have been able to discover enough, however, to satisfy me that the influence of the guilds is so powerful in the industrial, commercial and political organization of China that we cannot comprehend their civilization without a better knowledge of them, and it is with the special desire of interesting you in this work that I have addressed you this communication.

I am convinced that a more perfect knowledge of the guilds of China, their successes and failures, will be of great value to the students of social economics in our country, especially in these days of the extensive growth of labor and capital organizations.

HENRY B. MILLER.

U. S. Consul, Newchwang, China.

"LAW REPORT

"MIXED COURT

"Shanghai, 4th June.

"Before Mr. CHANG, Magistrate, and Dr. BARCHET, Assessor,

"A MISCHIEVOUS RULING.

"The case in which four men were charged some time ago with attempting to extort Tls. 5 from a congee seller and whom the Magistrate declined to convict on the ground that the money demanded was for the purposes of the Hawkers' Guild, was reopened this morning. At the first trial the Magistrate not only maintained that the prisoners as officials of the Guild were within their right in demanding Tls. 5 from the complainant, but actually ordered the latter to pay the money with the alternative of having his shop closed. No attempt was made to prove that the complainant was a member of the Guild, which had its headquarters in the city ; on the contrary, complainant declared that he had declined joining the Guild. The Assessor at the time, thinking perhaps that the Magistrate was trying to set up an imperium in imperio, recommended the Inspector in charge of the case to report the matter to the Captain Superintendent, with the result that a rehearing was obtained.

"Inspector Wilson said he was instructed to press for the case to be thoroughly enquired into. It appeared that the complainant did not want to join the Guild and said so at the former trial. Not being a member of the Guild he could not see how complainant could be compelled to pay any money to the Guild.

"The Magistrate was very much disinclined to alter his previous decision and contended that every business or trade had its Guild !

"Inspector Wilson pointed out that the complainant was carrying on his trade within the Settlement, and there were many traders here who did not belong to nor could they be compelled to join any Guild. The Guild in question had its quarters outside the Settlement and was run by Chinkiang men and he maintained that they could not exercise any kind of jurisdiction over people trading here.

"The Magistrate said that he could not destroy the Guilds of the place. If he altered his former decision it would break up all the Guilds.

"Inspector Wilson said that the man paid rates and taxes to the Council and he ought to be able to conduct his business without any hindrance.

"The Magistrate advanced the extraordinary proposition that every tradesman here must pay Guild taxes too.

"Inspector Wilson said it was quite a voluntary matter. No one could be compelled to pay anything to the Guilds.

"The Magistrate urged that if he reversed his former decision he would be plagued with no end of complaints. Everybody would henceforth refuse to pay Guild dues."

"Inspector Wilson assured the Magistrate that the Police would take up every complaint against the exactions of Guilds."

"After a good deal of wrangling between the Magistrate and the parties, the situation was saved in a characteristically Chinese manner—by a compromise. The prisoners were discharged, and the complainant was relieved from any obligation of contributing to the funds of the Guild, but he was distinctly told by the Magistrate that he would not be allowed to sell congee at five cash per basin, as that was lower than the scale of charges sanctioned by the Guild, which the Magistrate evidently thought it was part and parcel of his duty to enforce within this Settlement."

American Loom Inventors

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice in your August Magazine an article by Mr. Leon Mead, in which he refers to a list of Americans whose inventions have insured our industrial supremacy, mentioning Amos Whittemore, Barton H. Jenks and Erastus B. Bigelow as to looms. I would question the fact as to whether either Whittemore or Jenks made any contribution to this art that would rank with those of Ira Draper, George Draper, W. W. Dutcher and others, to say nothing of the recent inventions used in the Northrop loom. Erastus B. Bigelow was certainly a prolific loom inventor, being credited with the first automatic let-off motion and many special inventions from which a great wire-weaving industry has been evolved.

I must plead entire ignorance as to the contributions of Amos Whittemore,—in fact I only find his name mentioned in connection with a loom for weaving wire cloth, patented in 1796, and no looms were built in this country for many years afterward.

Barton H. Jenks was a prominent American loom builder for many years, yet the concern which he ran is now idle, and it is doubtful whether the surviving

competitors owe appreciably to the ideas which he introduced in his own constructions.

Taking my own list, it is a matter of history that Ira Draper invented the revolving loom temple,—a device which enabled weavers to attend two looms instead of one, as formerly, and improvements by George Draper and Warren W. Dutcher have continued the control of the industry so that we supply the entire American demand for this important loom adjunct. Facts like these are proof enough of merit. George Draper also developed the present standard style of automatic let-off in collaboration with other inventors, and patented the loose frog used in nearly every American loom made.

Other inventors, such as George Crompton and Lucius J. Knowles, developed large and successful industries in the line of fancy looms, and the present Crompton & Knowles Loom Works largely control this field, including new ideas contributed by George F. Hutchins, Horace Wyman and many others. The most important loom inventions of the past fifty years, however, are headed by those of James H. Northrop, including the only successful automatic filling changer ever introduced, to say nothing of the cooperating devices devised by Gen. William F. Draper, Charles F. Roper and a dozen other associates.

After a long experience with inventors and inventions, I am quite disinclined to see prominence given to ideas that have not definitely appealed to public demand. If the Northrop invention stimulates a sale of 75,000 looms in five years, the value of the ideas involved is measured by a scale that allows comparison. I would not wish to be understood as having desired to substitute my list for that of Mr. Mead, for I have by no means included all the inventors who should be mentioned in such a category. Our great carpet indus-

try, for instance, involves ideas fully as ingenious as those evolved by many inventors for plainer styles of weaving. I simply wished to see that proper credit was given to certain men in whose history I am personally interested, the very prominence of your magazine necessitating correction in statements which are liable to be referred to as of standard authority.

GEORGE OTIS DRAPER.

Hopedale, Mass.

The Steel Strike

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I was unable to learn the reason for the steel strike, and was waiting eagerly to get Professor Gunton's views. After reading his calm, comprehensive and able article in the August number, I feel that I have a full understanding of the situation.

JOHN HOLLEY CLARK.

Principal High School, Flushing, L. I.

"A Safe, Instructive View"

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Yours is a magazine taking a solid, safe, wholesome, instructive view of things, as to what our country is and should be, on the lines of best government and policy. I am pleased with it.

(Rev.) W. N. BACON.

Pastor Congregational Church,
Bridport, Vt.

QUESTION BOX

The Tariff and Steel Rails

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your very interesting article on "How Reformers Use Facts" shows rather obviously that "use" is in reality little else than "misuse." At the same time, some of the statistics of prices that you give suggest the question of why we need any tariff duties on products like steel rails. The tariff is two or three times the amount of the difference in the foreign and American price. Such a tariff does no good; it can only help American manufacturers, if they so desire, to put the price up to the limit of the tariff without fear of foreign competition. So long as we know by personal experience that our manufacturers do not need this extra amount, such a course would be simply extortion.

J. M. S.

It is probably true that the manufacturers of steel rails do not now really need protection. The tariff duty at present is very slight. But the important question involved is, should congress undertake a revision of the tariff in order to remove this nominal duty on steel rails which manifestly is exercising no injurious effect? That it is no injury to the consumer is shown by the fact that the price of rails in this country is practically as low as that abroad, occasionally going lower, showing that the tariff exercises no perceptible influence upon the price. The domestic competition, even since the organization of the great steel company, is quite efficient for that purpose. A revision of the tariff to remove the duty from steel rails would open up a protracted discussion in congress of the whole tariff question. Free traders who are indiscriminate in their attack on protective duties would struggle and probably succeed in taking the duty off many articles upon which protection is still needed.

The very discussion of this subject; indeed, the election of a congress on that issue would probably be a sufficiently disturbing element in our industrial conditions to cause a panic. It gave us a four-years depression the last time it was attempted, and the very discussion of the subject before any attempt at legislation was made threw the country into a disastrous panic which lasted until the party which proposed it was turned out of power.

But there is one other point which should always be borne in mind in proposing to remove the tariff from a protected industry. It is not merely against the normal production of foreign countries like England that protection is needed, but against the dumping of their surplus product. It is a commonplace in business that, in order to procure extended trade or invade a new market, all large industries will sell their goods at cost and sometimes at less than the average cost of the whole,—first for the sake of carrying off a part of their product, and second for the sake of getting a foothold in a new market. This has always been done by England and other foreign countries whenever the opportunity presented. It is a point of severe criticism urged by American free traders, and conspicuously Mr. Holt, that American manufacturers are doing this in foreign markets. They complain that some of our manufacturers sell goods cheaper in foreign than in the home market. Those who make this objection simply show their unfamiliarity with practical business affairs. Foreigners do it and Americans do it. Our manufacturers will do it to gain a foothold in foreign markets just the same as Englishmen will do it to get a foothold here. Even one section of the country will do it to get a foothold in the markets of another section. They will do it between towns, they will do it within the same city, in short, they do it in every market.

But this is a fact that should always be reckoned with in considering the tariff. Therefore, the fact that the cost of producing steel rails has been reduced in this country to the level of that in England, plus transportation, would not justify the removal of the tariff. There should at least be protection enough to afford a margin against the dumping of surplus products, in addition to cost of transportation.

Since the tariff manifestly does not injuriously affect the price of steel rails, they being already as low as in free-trade England, and since the very discussion of the subject, to say nothing of legislation upon it, would cause an industrial disturbance, it is clearly in the interest of prosperity and business stability to let the tariff remain on steel rails, although, strictly speaking, it is no longer necessary to the industry.

The Secret of America's Progress

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—In your lecture on the "Secret of America's Industrial Progress," published in the *Lecture Bulletin*, you say our progress has not been due to natural resources nor to free institutions, but to large consumption of wealth by the people. How would you account for this large consumption of wealth? You cited France as an illustration of your point, but why has not France had large consumption? They have had good soil and climate, free institutions, and an adequate system of protection, yet they are not to be compared with us for industrial prosperity or social welfare.

D. E. B.

You might just as well ask why has not Russia or India or China as large consumption as France. The cause of the lack of consumption somewhat differs in the history of each country, but the crucial fact upon which the nation's progress turns is the existence of the consumption. The cause of the smaller consump-

tion of France is a part of the repressive conditions out of which the present generation of French people has come. During the 18th century the French people lived under the worst phase of feudal institutions. They had the social influence of feudalism, which by class influence repressed all incentive for social diversification and equality, and this served as a repressive power on the development of habits of consumption. Indeed, it was the degenerating and oppressive conditions in France that led to the revolution, which, together with the Napoleonic wars that followed, destroyed a whole crop of the best people in France. It was very much like the weeding out of from 5 to 10 per cent. of the most characterful and progressive of the entire French population. That would be a net setback to the civilization of any country in the world.

The outcome of this condition was the spirit of war, class distrust and revolution, to the exclusion of social recuperation and expansion. The peasants would go bare-footed, live in a hovel, to support the revolutionary movement. And in turn the government periodically disturbed and often destroyed the resources of the country. So, under these conditions, instead of becoming a large consumer the French peasant is famous as a frugal liver, walking bare-footed, carrying his shoes under his arm until he gets to the city, and making a sou go farther than any other person can make it. The result is that the national habit of France is small *per capita* consumption. It is only in cities where manufacture and commerce has carried a forced diversification that French progress is at all conspicuous.

In Russia the case is different. Here autocratic dominance, through the machinery of the church and the state, has stifled the opportunities of social expansion among Russian peasants. Consequently, by the very force of these repressive influences, political and

religious, the people have learned habitually to bow, thinking it something of a crime to attempt any social innovation. Consequently the roughest clothing, meagerest huts, and black-bread and cabbage-broth food dominate the standard of living, and *per capita* consumption in all except the coarsest foodstuffs is accordingly remarkably small. The same causes, differently developed though no less obvious, explain the small consumption and slow progress of India, China and the Spanish Americas. Multitudes of causes may conspire to bring about small consumption. It may come from traditional prejudice, from political repression, from religious teaching, and even from climatic conditions. But no matter what the cause that leads to small consumption, small consumption always gives backward national development and crude civilization. And, *vice versa*, whatever leads to large diversified consumption leads to social progress and correspondingly rapid advancing civilization.

Prosperity and the Administration

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It is discouraging to read such evidences of subserviency and corrupt influences on the part of the president as you present, with apparent full justification, in your July Magazine. Yet is it not a fact that President McKinley is giving the country a splendid administration? Prosperity was never so high nor foreign respect for our power and purposes so great. Is it not a fortunate thing for the country, indeed, that the president is willing to go with the natural current of affairs and not stir everything up by his personal opinions and policies? T. R. H.

In the election of a president the nation expects two things,—one, that he shall conduct the administration along the lines of public policy which the party he represents stands for, and second, that in his personal

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executive capacity he shall stand for honesty and integrity in public office. It is true that the nation is enjoying a greater degree of prestige and prosperity than ever before, but that is due to the policy of the party the president represents. It is no part of Mr. McKinley's personality that restored business prosperity upon his election. It was the fact that he represented the policy of protection and sound money. Those two policies, to one of which he was but a very recent convert, gave financial and business confidence, which had been so fearfully wrecked by the policy of the previous administration. It was the triumph of the principle of protection and sound money and not the election of William McKinley, which changed the industrial aspects of the nation.

Our prestige abroad came from the extraordinary triumph of our navy, for which President McKinley was no more responsible than any other American citizen. It was the superiority of the American navy over the Spanish, which is the result of years of education and training, in fact, of our general civilization. Our navy was as superior to the Spanish navy as our whole industrial development and national type is superior to the Spanish. On the other hand, the truckling to corrupt forces in politics, the breaking of promises and shirking of responsibility by the president did not belong to the party or the country but to Mr. McKinley himself. They have nothing to do with the policy and principles of the party which he represents, or the spirit of American energy which gives such buoyancy and progress to our national enterprise whenever opportunity permits.

Unfortunately, testimony of the weaknesses on the personal side of the president is becoming cumulative. Commenting on this subject, the *Springfield Republican* of July 7th says:

"If the persons who have had similar dealings with the president could be canvassed, the number of cases in which his fair and promising words have been belied by later acts would be exceedingly large."

Another painful case of a broken promise definitely made to a high government official has just come to light. As people begin to tell their experiences it deepens the color on the canvas. The fact now comes to light that even when assuming the personal leadership of President Harrison's cause in the Indianapolis convention in 1892, Mr. McKinley not merely countenanced but personally aided in trying to get up a stampede for his own nomination, and the dramatic polling of the Ohio delegation, in which all voted for McKinley while he personally voted for Harrison, was a deliberate stage performance. This is not mere idle rumor.

Exclusive Employment of Union Men

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice in your discussion of the steel strike that the point of your criticism of the unions is that they insist on having the non-union mills made union mills. In other words, your idea seems to be that, while the men have a perfect right to organize, they have no right to insist that any other men be discharged if they are not members of the union. Does not this strike at the strongest pillar of trade-unionism, which really holds up the whole structure? Is it not a fact that if non-union men were permitted in any establishment along with union men, they would be used as a means of breaking up the union? Every new man that was hired would be a non-union man until all were of that kind. How else can the unions protect themselves than by insisting on exclusive employment of their own men?

E. P. R.

Union men have a perfect right to extend their organization, but only through the use of moral

suasion. Coercion cannot be justified under any circumstances, and if unions were made universal by coercion they would necessarily become despotic. Of course, union men have the right to refuse to work with non-union men, just as they have the right to refuse to work with an objectionable overseer or under any other condition they deem sufficiently objectionable. Their alternative is to strike, but this is quite different from making the corporations sign an agreement by which they will discharge non-union men or compel them to join the union. It is important to labor itself that this progress, which is something of a competition between union and non-union laborers, should be free from coercion and intimidation. If the union observes that the corporations are trying to work any non-union men with the view, ultimately, of breaking the union, their defence is to strengthen their union in all the ways they can by new enlistments and, if needs be, strike against working with non-union men. In that case the contest must be between the two, but it must be free. Until the unions are strong enough, through moral suasion and the strength of the good they do to their class, to enlist all the laborers, it is better for them and for society that their influence should not be exclusive, but there should be a competition between the union and non-union men. There is no organization in the community, either the church, or in business or in labor, which is good enough, and can be trusted, to acquire exclusive control by coercion.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE MIDDLE PERIOD—1817-1858. By John W. Burgess, Ph. D., LL. D. Cloth, 544 pages, \$1.75. With maps. Chas. Scribner & Sons, New York.

In the "American History Series" the publishers are aiming to give a history of the United States by periods, the history of each period being written by persons specially qualified for that particular work. Whatever may be said for the merits of this method of writing history, in selecting Dr. Burgess to furnish the history of the "middle period" the publishers have rendered an invaluable public service. It would not be easy to select a period in American history whose story would be more difficult to tell without bias than the period 1816-1860, covered by this book. And probably there is no living man so well qualified to perform the task from the high ground of accuracy of statement and political science as Dr. Burgess. In his preface he admits being "keenly conscious of his own prejudices," which is perhaps the surest evidence that he will rise above them. In this state of mind Dr. Burgess assures us that he has taken pains to draw upon original sources for his data and scrupulously avoid all facts given by writers who have mixed in their own opinions. This does not guarantee that the facts as presented by Dr. Burgess will not be twisted, but, as he says, "if they are twisted by prejudices and preconceptions, I think I can assure my readers that they have suffered only one twist."

From the opening to the closing chapter every page bears the evidence of this freedom from bias in presentation, yet there is nothing of negative neutrality on any important subject considered. There is a bold frankness, a strong candor and fairness of statement

always coupled with a vigorous, unequivocating statement of affirmative principle. This is well illustrated in his treatment of the case of the struggle over the United States bank. The book opens with the close of the war 1812-1815, and the first great fact to be presented is the chartering of the second bank of the United States. This is stated with such comprehension and conciseness, entirely free from any fiscal theory, that it will be difficult for any reader not to understand it. Dr. Burgess's masterly grasp of the principles of political philosophy shows itself in his insight into the economic and political doctrines which governed the public action of the time. That the bank of the United States was the expression of the national spirit, as distinguished from the local sovereignty and state rights idea, is everywhere apparent.

On this point Dr. Burgess throws a flood of light in discussing Jackson's attack on the bank. He does not fail to note the partisan and even personal political motives of Jackson in making war on the bank;—the fact, for instance, that Senator Levi Woodbury of New Hampshire, leader of the Jacksonian party in New Hampshire, endeavored to get Jeremiah Mason, Webster's friend, removed from the presidency of the branch bank at Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in 1829, to make room for a Jackson partisan; the fact that Isaac Hill, another New Hampshire political friend of Jackson, tried to have the United States pension agency connected with the Portsmouth branch of the bank removed to Concord and placed with the bank of which Hill was or had been president; the fact that the secretary of the treasury ordered Mr. Biddle, president of the bank, to have Mason removed, and Mr. Eaton, secretary of war, ordered Mason to transfer the pension agency to Hill's bank in Concord, all of which was purely partisan politics; and the fact that in declining to make

these changes Mr. Biddle, the president of the bank, gave mortal offence to Jackson. All this occurred before Jackson had made any open war upon the bank. The evidence is quite conclusive that, so far as Jackson is concerned, this was the prime motive for his action.

Dr. Burgess does not leave the case here, but, as in everything that he touches, he turns on the light of broader political principles. He shows with great clearness that, while these facts might have governed Jackson's personal action, there was a force behind Jackson, and without which he probably could not have been successful, namely, the doctrine of states' rights, the same doctrine that Jefferson represented in opposing the first bank, *i. e.*, that it was founded on a national principle and was contrary to the doctrine of state sovereignty. Opposition to the bank from this political theory had existed long before 1829; in fact, had never quite died out since the first opposition of Jefferson, but the success of the bank was so overwhelming, it rendered such invaluable service to the country in giving stability and uniformity to the value of currency, bringing all bank-notes to par with gold, that the opposition, from the sheer success of the bank, was driven into comparative silence. But when this personal motive arose, Jackson fell back on the latent political doctrine of states' rights to attack the bank, which resulted in the overthrow of the best banking system this country has ever had, and substituting in its place our sub-treasury system, which comes very near being the worst fiscal institution now existing in any civilized country. Other great questions, many of which were so vital to the institutions of the nation during this middle period, are treated in the same strong, comprehensive and yet thoroughly impartial manner.

The Dred Scott case and the struggle for Kansas, which are the subjects of the last two chapters of this

volume, similarly illustrate the author's masterly method of dealing with the subject. In most of the previous statements of the Dred Scott case we have a borrowed reflection of some other statement, a feature of which is that the case was practically a manufactured one for the purpose of testing the law and constitution on the subject. Dr. Burgess, ignoring all published literature upon the subject, proceeds to examine the original data in the case, which he obtained from Mr. A. C. Crane, who was law clerk in the office of a lawyer who conducted the case for Dred Scott, and the details are given which conclusively show that the idea that it was in any way raised as a test case is entirely unfounded. It was a genuine effort of a negro to get his freedom through the courts, and the lawyers who took the case did it without pay, purely from the humanitarian motive of securing a negro his rights. Moreover, the court expenses in the case were paid by Mr. Taylor Blow, the son of the owner of Dred Scott, who sold him to Dr. Emerson, whose widow was the plaintiff in the trial for Dred Scott's liberty.

This is not a book to be reviewed, but to be read; and really the only thing to say about it is that every American citizen should read it.

THE WORKING CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED KINGDOM. By Leonard Courtney. Cloth, 383 pp., \$2.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The English constitution is not a written document, but consists of a body of parliamentary statutes and political precedents. It is unlike the constitution of any other country under representative government. In reality, the English constitution is simply the traditions and precedents of government in its various branches, together with specific legislation by parliament. Thus an unchallenged or frequently successful

policy of an administration, like a court decision, becomes a part of the unwritten constitution, and so every act of parliament, besides being a statute law, becomes a part of the constitution. Thus the English constitution is the most flexible of any in the world. There is nothing absolutely arbitrary about it. It cannot, like the written constitution of this country, render any act of parliament unconstitutional and inoperative. There is no court, not even the king's bench nor the house of lords itself, which can declare an act of parliament unconstitutional, as can the supreme court in this country.

The English constitution is thus a gradual growth of the judicial and political habits and parliamentary enactments of the people as they are modified by decisions and legislation year by year. Like the Irishman's knife, which has several times had a new handle and a new blade, it is the same old knife. The English constitution is always the same constitution, though ever undergoing change. This flexibility gives the English constitution the advantage of always being modern; it is always up to date. It always represents the England of to-day. The constitution serves as a conservative background for all public action, but it is not cast-iron enough ever to prevent any change that the people definitely require. In that sense it is even more democratic than our own.

This is largely due, however, to the fact that the political institutions of England are the outcome of a gradual and almost continuous evolution. England is the only country in which there has never been a revolution which has overthrown the entire institutions. There have been revolutions, but they have been brought about by parliament and preserved the main thread of the institutions continuous; but, wherever democratic institutions have come through revolution

which overthrew the existing form of government, as in this country and France, a written constitution has been necessary. It may be said that a written constitution is always necessary for the construction of a government after a complete revolution. Written constitutions are usually arbitrary and harsh, and, notwithstanding the periodic modifications, often hamper the progress of the country. This is one of the disadvantages of accomplishing social reforms by revolution. There are many improvements that could be made in our national government which the constitution makes practically impossible, and, in order to get a change in the constitution, it is necessary to convince a majority of the people through their legislatures in a majority of the states. This renders a change practically impossible, except in extraordinary cases such as the 14th and 15th amendments immediately following the civil war. From this disadvantage England is free, and it has been a most healthful condition in her political progress.

The object of Mr. Courtney's book is to explain the workings of this flexible unwritten constitution, and the work is very satisfactorily done. Although containing less than 400 pages, it gives a succinct and thoroughly intelligible account of the historic changes that have taken place in the evolution of English institutions. The evolution of the house of commons, the growth of its power over the government, its present control over national affairs, its relation to the finances, to the throne, to the house of lords and to the public, is all told in an interesting and very instructive manner. Also, the relation of the courts, the constitution of the cabinet, the power of the house of commons over elections and over itself and the ministry, are told in such a way that the ordinary reader can get a tolerably clear idea of the workings of the English government,

which is something that the average American citizen does not very well understand. The book is really true to its title, namely: "The Working Constitution of the United Kingdom," and it ought to be widely read by the American people, especially in view of the fact that we are entering upon a colonial policy which is so new to us and so old to England.

WAGES IN COMMERCIAL COUNTRIES. Fifteenth Annual Report of the United States Commissioner of Labor, Washington. 2 vols.

These two volumes comprise 1642 pages, almost exclusively of statistics of wages in different countries. In some respects it is one of the most important reports that has issued from this department since its organization. Nothing is more difficult to obtain than reliable data of comparative wages in the different countries, especially for the same periods. Too frequently we have to rely for information regarding wages upon newspaper correspondence, or partial statements by interested parties, and it is next to impossible to get wages in the same industries for the same years in any considerable number of countries, and, without this, comparison is practically worthless.

These volumes contain data from a larger number of industries and communities than probably ever before appeared in a single collection. They cover practically all the states and territories in the United States, and about 100 foreign countries, colonies and provinces. One excellent feature of the report is a complete table of the sources from which the statistics in every country are drawn. These are indicated in the table by a report number. Opposite each date and country is a number, by reference to which in the contents can be found the official report from which the information was taken. In some industries the report

covers more than half a century and in many the entire period of the industry's existence, especially in this country.

The reports will be invaluable as a source of reference, and the more so because the arrangement is such that the wages in any specific industry or country can be found as readily as a word in the dictionary. The utility of the work is greatly enhanced by the fact that monies of all countries are reduced to dollars.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

A Year in China, 1899-1900. By C. Bigham, C. M. G., late attaché to the British legation in Peking. Cloth, 8vo, 225 pp., \$3.50. The Macmillan Co., New York. With illustrations.

American History. By Henry W. Elson, A. M., lecturer of the American society for the extension of university teaching. Series II. The Civil War and our Own Times. Cloth, 410 pp. The Macmillan Company, New York. A very excellent book.

Factory People and their Employers. How their Relations are made Pleasant and Profitable. By Edwin L. Shuey, M. A., author of "Industrial Training Essential," etc. Cloth, 224 pp., 75 cents. Lenthion & Company, New York. A handbook of practical methods of improving factory conditions and the relations of employer and employee.

In Tibet and Chinese Turkestan. By Captain H.H.P. Deasy. Cloth, 8vo, 420 pp., \$5. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Being the record of three years' exploration. Maps and illustrations from photographs.

Britain's Title in South Africa; or, The Story of Cape Colony to the Days of the Great Trek. By James Cappon, M.A. Cloth, 12mo, 339 pp. \$2. The Macmillan Co., New York.

History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate, 1649-1660. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. Cloth, 8vo, 314 pp., \$7. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

FROM AUGUST MAGAZINES

“The mass of testimony, from the time of Yorktown to that of Bull Run, tells a story of anything but a golden age for the American workman. It tells, on the other hand, the narrative of a nation built up by hard work, resolutely performed under the keenest privations. It tells of the growth of a gigantic national wealth, and the heaping up of immense fortunes; but at the same time it reveals the earlier condition of the common workman, the mechanic, the farm laborer, often even the farmer, as generally one of pathetic destitution, the maximum of comfort being found toward the beginning. Not even in the worst days since the civil war—in 1873, for instance—have conditions been as bitter as they were in some of the earlier periods; and no one could write of any of the recent years of average prosperity such a tale as Horace Greeley wrote of the “good years” of 1831-32.” W. J. GHENT, in “The American Workmen’s ‘Golden Age;’” *The Forum*.

AN IDEAL SUMMER RESORT

The adage that distance lends enchantment to the view is unusually true of Americans. It is almost a national habit with us to think that, if we are to have any delightful summer outings, we must go abroad, as if there were no beautiful, restful, inspiring and invigorating spots in the United States. Yet this country is full of them; we have more beautiful scenery and luxuriant summer resting-places than any other country. Most Americans really need an introduction to their own country. The Yosemite, the Yellowstone, the Great Lakes and Niagara have no equals in the world.

Take also, for instance, the Thousand Islands in the

St. Lawrence. That is a veritable fairyland; cool, restful, with a dreamland enchanting beauty, it furnishes to the full all the requirements of a summer outing, and it is only one night's ride from New York City. One can go to bed at the Grand Central Depot and breakfast on a St. Lawrence steamer. Moreover, there is something peculiar about the habits of Thousand Island people. The free-handed, friendly hospitality of the hosts in the Thousand Islands is in charming contrast with that at the Pan-American Exposition.

As an illustration, we may cite the Thousand Islands House, which is owned and conducted by Colonel Staples, of Washington.

Mr. Staples owns a modernly equipped 75-foot steam yacht. Several times a week, without any formality, guests who so desire are treated to an excursion among the islands, sometimes spending several hours fishing and picnicking, sometimes to have a moonlight view of the St. Lawrence,—a treat never to be missed. Of course it may be partly due to the general temperament of the man, but everything seems to be at the disposal of the guests.

An added charm of this bit of fairyland is the electrical display from the island mansions, many of which are wired outside as well as in, and in the evening furnish a veritable illumination of the bay second only to the Pan-American. From the Thousand Islands House, which occupies the most commanding position in Alexandria Bay, the river and its islands can be scanned for miles in both directions.

Europe has no St. Lawrence, and certainly no Thousand Islands. It is doubtful if there is a place in the United States where nature, wealth and the true free-handed American spirit have done so much to make one forget the weariness of eleven months' drudgery as in the Thousand Islands.



PRESIDENT THEODORE ROOSEVELT

UNGUARDED GATES

THOMAS BAILEY ALDRICH

(Reprinted from the *Atlantic Monthly*, April, 1892)

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
Named of the four winds—North, South, East and
West;

Portals that lead to an enchanted land
Of cities, forests, fields of living gold,
Vast prairies, lordly summits touched with snow,
Majestic rivers sweeping proudly past
The Arab's date palm and the Norseman's pine—
A realm wherein are fruits of every zone,
Airs of all climes, for lo! throughout the year
The red rose blossoms somewhere—a rich land,
A later Eden planted in the wilds,
With not an inch of earth within its bound
But if a slave's foot press it sets him free!
Here it is written, Toil shall have its wage,
And Honor honor, and the humblest man
Stands level with the highest in the law.
Of such a land have men in dungeons dreamed,

And with the vision brightening in their eyes
Gone smiling to the fagot and the sword.

Wide open and unguarded stand our gates,
And through them presses a wild, a motley throng—
Men from the Volga and the Tartar steppes,
Featureless figures of the Hoang-Ho,
Malayan, Scythian, Teuton, Kelt, and Slav,
Flying the Old World's poverty and scorn;
These bringing with them unknown gods and rites,
Those tiger passions, here to stretch their claws.
In street and alley what strange tongues are these,
Accents of menace alien to our air.
Voices that once the Tower of Babel knew!
O, Liberty, White Goddess! is it well
To leave the gate unguarded? On thy breast
Fold Sorrow's children, soothe the hurts of fate,
Lift the down-trodden, but with the hand of steel
Stay those who to thy sacred portals come
To waste the gifts of freedom. Have a care
Lest from thy brow the clustered stars be torn
And trampled in the dust. For so of old
The thronging Goth and Vandal trampled Rome,
And where the temples of the Cæsars stood
The lean wolf unmolested made her lair.

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

An Appalling Menace

For the third time in our history a president has been murdered during his term of office. Apart from the elements of tragic horror, which at such a time permit little sense of degree or idea of comparison, it is certain that the assassination of neither Lincoln nor Garfield was so charged with profound menace as this deliberate and dastardly blow struck by the hand of anarchy. Lincoln fell a victim to the spirit of revenge. At most, his martyrdom had nothing of more dangerous significance in it than the echoes of a conflict permanently closed. It did not spring from any movement that was threatening the future of the country; indeed, it did not even represent a unanimous southern sentiment. As for the shooting of Garfield, it represented nothing more serious than local political disappointment.

But the murder of President McKinley is altogether a different matter. It was the carefully planned act of a determined and thoroughly organized body of professed enemies of society. The crime was committed in cold blood, with deliberate malice aforethought, by men who rejoice in the act and regard it as only one blow in a far-reaching scheme of murderous assault on the instruments and agents of government, and through them upon government itself, wherever it exists. The people have realized this, and with a deepening sense of its direful meaning, from the moment when it was

known that the president's assailant was an agent of the anarchist propaganda. The consciousness of it has intensified popular indignation and profound concern throughout the nation, and it is well that this is the case. The deed done at Buffalo calls for altogether more comprehensive action than the mere trial and execution of Czolgosz. That can neither retrieve the past nor even satisfy the sense of justice. The murderer is the merest pawn in the game, and in destroying his worthless life the community takes nothing of value and secures no additional protection. The anarchists will not be in the least daunted by Czolgosz's fate; they will glory in it and plan fresh assaults; so that the one thing of crucial importance now does not relate to the past, it is to safeguard the future.

**The Crime and
its Results**

The president had gone from Canton to Buffalo to visit the Pan-American exposition, and on Friday afternoon, September 6th, was holding a public reception in the temple of music, one of the large buildings on the exposition grounds. The assassin, Leon Czolgosz, with a revolver concealed by a handkerchief in one hand, joined the line and, approaching the president as if to accept the extended greeting, shot him twice in rapid succession. One ball struck the breastbone and did little injury; the other entered the abdomen, passed through the stomach, and lodged in the muscles of the back. The secret service men standing by the president's side, and a negro close by, sprang upon Czolgosz, throwing him to the floor, and there is little doubt that only the prompt action of the police in getting him away to a station-house prevented the crowd from making an end of the miserable assassin then and there.

The president was immediately removed to an emergency hospital on the grounds, and in less than a

couple of hours the first bullet had been extracted and an operation performed on the stomach by Dr. Matthew D. Mann, of Buffalo, without which the president probably would not have survived the week. Later in the evening he was removed to the home of John G. Milburn, president of the Pan-American exposition, and surrounded by the best surgical and medical skill, including such well-known men as Doctors Mann, Parke, and McBurney, and the McKinleys' family physician, Dr. Rixey. For the first few days it was believed, and with increasing confidence, that Mr. McKinley would live, but gangrene set in on an extensive scale and death resulted at about two o'clock in the morning of Saturday, September 14th.

The body lay in state, and was viewed by great throngs in the Buffalo city hall Monday, September 16th, in the capitol at Washington on Tuesday, and at Canton on Wednesday. The interment was at West Lawn Cemetery, Thursday afternoon, September 19th, the hour being marked in New York and many localities, large and small, throughout the country by practically complete stoppage of traffic and travel of every description. In fact, the funeral service of the day, so far from being confined to Canton, was a national affair. In accordance with President Roosevelt's first proclamation, and instinctive public feeling, the day was observed by cessation of business and the holding of services, almost universally, throughout the country. More impressive testimonials, both domestic and foreign, have perhaps never been given anywhere upon similar occasion.

Disposal
of Czolgosz

By the grim irony of circumstances, the very method of disposing of the assassin is furnishing an object-lesson in the even-handed justice guaranteed by the government whose

executive he murdered with the insane idea of destroying a tyranny. Government, the hated thing whose authority he denied, was all that stood between him and the fury of the crowd, which would have welcomed the chance to apply his anarchistic theory of individual justice in his own case. Ex-Judges Lewis and Titus were assigned to defend the prisoner, and by their acceptance of the unwelcome task have gained a secure place in public respect; and still more, have vindicated our judicial system, as expressing the American sense of justice, in a test as severe, perhaps, as any to which it could ever be put. The trial has been conducted before the supreme court at Buffalo, the prisoner admitting his guilt and declining to request any efforts in his behalf. In spite of this, he was given the full right of a formal defence, with opportunity to introduce proofs of insanity or other testimony, if he so desired. This was not done, and of course he was found guilty. The verdict was given on September 24th, and within a few weeks he will have paid the full penalty of the law.

**The New
President**

Vice-President Roosevelt was in the heart of the Adirondacks when the president's fatal relapse came, having gone there in the firm belief, shared by everybody, that all danger was past. Consequently, it was afternoon of the day of the president's death, September 14th, before Mr. Roosevelt reached Buffalo. The oath of office was then promptly taken and a proclamation issued, setting apart Thursday, the 19th, as a day of national mourning. Just before taking the oath the new president made the following declaration:

"I wish to state that it shall be my aim to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor of our beloved country."

Probably he could have said nothing more reassuring.

ing to public sentiment and business interests, for of all things the industrial community most dreads a sudden change. President Roosevelt further strengthened this confidence by requesting all the members of the McKinley cabinet to remain to the end of their terms, which it is understood they will do.

It will be remembered that, at the time Mr. Roosevelt was named for the vice-presidency, fear was expressed in many quarters that he was not sufficiently conservative or "safe" for an office which might at almost any moment transfer him to the headship of the nation. If this feeling had any real depth in the community, it must have been dispelled by this time; the test has now been applied and the public has responded with every evidence of confidence. The stock market, which of all indexes is most sensitive, responded immediately with an encouraging upward trend of prices, and there are no signs of industrial disturbance anywhere.

Mr. Roosevelt is the youngest president the nation has ever had, and is of a temperament which stands somewhat in need of sobering and perhaps steadying influences. These characteristics, in a president of the United States, might not in themselves be reassuring, but Mr. Roosevelt is neither stubborn, self-willed, nor over-impressed with his own infallibility. With this combination of qualities, it is safe to predict that the accession of great responsibility will furnish whatever balancing and broadening influences may yet be necessary to supplement the many admirable characteristics now well known to the public. Because he proposes no immediate changes, there need be no fear that Mr. Roosevelt will not be an individual force in the government. The new president does well to follow, for the present at least, the lines of policy already laid down, letting his own develop gradually as the need may arise

and as his own foothold becomes surer. That this is President Roosevelt's evident intention is primary evidence of that sound good sense so essential to wise statesmanship. The presidency has come to him in a way unsought and undesired, but this very fact will probably insure the new president a more considerate public opinion and more generous cooperation than if he had won this high post in a bitter political struggle. The responsibilities are heavy, but the opportunities are great.

**Mr. McKinley's
Public Work**

President McKinley's administration will be permanently associated in our history with certain changes of momentous importance in the evolution of American institutions. This will be true, however opinions may differ as to the wisdom of particular policies and measures. Some things were expected at the outset, and undoubtedly would have occurred in the same way, whoever had happened to be the successful candidate of the republican party in 1896. For example, it was expected that Mr. McKinley's election would restore financial confidence, secure the gold standard, and invite industrial revival by restoring a definitely friendly tariff policy; and the expectations were realized. His administration would have been notable in our political history for these achievements alone, coming as the direct result of the principles he was selected to represent, had nothing else of importance occurred.

**Prosperity and
Stability**

In reality, these accomplishments were more vitally important to the nation than anything else that has occurred since March, 1897. The Spanish war powerfully affected our external relations with the world, but the restoration of wholesome industrial conditions at home affected the

very life-blood of the nation and the integrity of our free institutions. To save the nation from financial disgrace and universal panic, and raise it from the mire of a prolonged industrial depression, was more important to ourselves and to civilization than all that has come out of our new foreign policy. Without an expanding life and soundness at the core, it would have been impossible either to handle the complex problems that have been thrust upon us from without or to seize any of the larger opportunities placed in our path. The outcome of the expansion policy is still problematical, but the outcome of our domestic, industrial and financial policy is not. That is definite, and has furnished the broad groundwork of whatever national prosperity and success we shall enjoy in the decades just before us.

**Results of the
Spanish War**

The other momentous phase of the McKinley administration was unexpected, and it is too early yet to prophesy what the final results will be or to pass any adequate judgment upon the policies as a whole that have been pursued. The annexation of Porto Rico and Hawaii could hardly be avoided, but it will require the most careful statesmanship to bring these semi-barbaric communities into anything like fitness for American forms of government. The policy towards Cuba thus far has been crowned with success, and if we do not take excessive advantage of our rights of intervention there it seems probable that the island will be able to manage its own affairs without involving us in the dangers of annexation, at least for a long time to come. We have steadily maintained that the same policy in the Philippines would have had far more satisfactory results than the course actually pursued, but when the conflict with the natives was once on there could be no honorable

course but to establish American supremacy and restore order.

To this object the administration steadfastly devoted its energies. A different declaration of intentions as to the future control of the islands would probably have saved much of this painful struggle, but it is still for congress to determine whether the trend of our policy shall be towards annexation or an increasing measure of independence with certain essential rights reserved to the United States. Mistakes have been made, of which history will inevitably take note; and it would strengthen no words of eulogy, but rather destroy the genuineness of whatever praise is offered, to lavish sentimental endorsement now upon policies which were the object of dignified criticism a few months ago. Fortunately, however, it is possible to say that nothing has occurred which need vitally menace the nation's welfare, if only our statesmanship be equal to the tasks before it; and furthermore, that the administration may be freely accorded full credit for a patriotic desire to solve the knotty tangle of problems growing out of the Spanish war in a way to strengthen our standing among the nations of the world and secure the best results to the island peoples that have come into our hands. Still more—if the future policies towards these new possessions are guided by sound principles of national evolution, we may confidently expect that the net result to the republic of all that has grown out of the Spanish war will be a mighty forward stride, carrying us to a point of world influence and power for good in civilization never before occupied by any nation. That, however, will be chiefly because the United States represents the highest type yet developed of free democratic institutions. If this supreme product is sacrificed in the course of our external expansion, the greatness will be bought with too dear a

price, and neither ourselves nor civilization will benefit. The opportunity for enormous good is before us, but also the responsibility for using it wisely.

**Foreign
Opinion**

Europe realizes that we are standing on the threshold of this opportunity, and its eyes are upon us. In spite of trade jealousies, there is throughout Christendom a new feeling of respect and even admiration for the republic. Nothing could have indicated this better than the unparalleled flood of foreign expressions of sorrow, respect and goodwill called out by the assassination. It was Mr. McKinley's good fortune to be president at a time when the presidency of the United States was coming to be of more importance and better known in the world than ever before, and furthermore, at a time when the nation could and did give extraordinary proofs of chivalry towards an oppressed neighbor and magnanimity towards a foreign foe. This course naturally associated itself in the foreign mind with the personality of the president, and created for him an exceptionally high regard; the more so, because few of the less attractive characteristics of any public man can be known outside the immediate range of our own political affairs. It is an optimistic trait in human character that, at such a time at least, all the emphasis is placed on the best that was in a man. In reality, it is the good men do that lives after them; the evil is "oft interred with their bones."

**A Reuniting
Force**

A pronounced domestic effect of the Spanish war ought to be noted, which is wholly good; that is, the rapid abolition of sectional division among our people. The novel experience of fighting side by side under the same flag did more to wipe out the remnants of bitterness between the North and South

than years of alternate scolding and preaching. The old feeling is not wholly dispelled, but at no time since the civil war has there been anything like so rapid an approach to a sentiment of national unity. It has been greatly aided by the wholesale introduction of modern manufacturing interests in many southern states. The late president earnestly encouraged this sentiment of reunion, and took a deep interest in seeing the last traces of sectional animosity disappear. The spirit of conciliation was one of the most marked of Mr. McKinley's personal characteristics; indeed, it sometimes led to more generous concessions than the circumstances of the case, when reduced to the concrete, could or would sustain; but his attitude towards the South and West bore wholesome fruit and has given signs, here and there, of the beginnings of another "era of good feeling." The almost unanimous tributes of regard from the southern press confirm this, and are encouraging symptoms of a wholesome trend.

**The Verdict, and
the Opportunity**

No man is wholly free either from defects in personal characteristics or from mistakes of judgment, but when a national figure passes into history it is a wholesome thing that the larger emphasis should be placed upon those results of his public work which have most vitally affected the national welfare. If they have affected it for the worse, the truth should be frankly told; but in the present case it may be accurately said of Mr. McKinley's administration, as a whole, that it restored financial confidence and business prosperity, was a unifying force within the nation, and materially advanced the United States in world-wide influence and broad opportunity for good. He was not personally the creator of all this, but he gave the weight of his influence and encouragement to the side of most of the tenden-

cies which brought it to pass. Whatever mistaken steps have been taken are not irretrievable, and it is in our power to make the results of the McKinley administration tell with increasing force for abundant prosperity at home, international peace, and the steady growth of civilization among the barbaric and backward races.

**The Problem
of Anarchy**

As we have said, the execution of Czolgosz will be neither adequate reparation for the crime nor protection for the future.

The real problem, which ought now to receive determined and unremitting attention, is how to protect our institutions from this destructive menace of anarchism which has operated so successfully in European countries in recent years and found so firm a foothold here. The air is full of suggestions for drastic remedies, and calls for vengeance, but the problem is not to be solved so readily. In protecting liberty, we must not go so far as to destroy it. In driving out anarchism, we must not erect into law a policy and methods which later and in other directions can be perverted into instruments of oppression. We are compelled by the very nature of our institutions to draw the line between liberty and license. We must preserve the rights of free speech and free assemblage as necessary safeguards against despotism, but we must also protect ourselves against such of the results of this liberty as tend to destroy the only adequate guarantee of liberty itself—that is, government and law.

The problem is more serious for us than for any other nation. On the one hand, the United States is becoming more and more an asylum for anarchistic propagandists driven from Europe, and, on the other, our constitution will not let us use the radically drastic measures so easily available in a monarchy. Anarchy

is bred under despotic conditions utterly unlike anything to be found in this country, but when the anarchist arrives here and sees the forms of government still in evidence, knowing nothing of the difference in its character and operation from that he left behind, he takes advantage of the freer environment to strike the blows he sought to strike at home. Because of his embittering experience under one type of government, and ignorance of our own, our very freedom from despotic restrictions places us at his mercy. Therefore, in his case, we cannot rely on the broad general safeguards which are ample to secure law and order with those brought up under our own institutions and conditions. Special measures become absolutely essential to meet the special danger.

**Three Objects
of Immigration
Restriction**

There are several lines of policy that might be, ought to be, and for the safety of free government must be, undertaken without further delay. Some of them ought to have been undertaken long ago, and further neglect will be unpardonable cowardice.

A rigid and comprehensive immigration law ought to be enacted, with a three-fold object: first, to exclude absolutely all persons who are known as believers in anarchistic principles or members of anarchistic societies; second, to exclude all below a certain educational standard of fitness for citizenship in the United States; third, to exclude all below a certain standard of economic fitness to enter our industrial field as competitors with American labor.

The first provision would not, of course, be infallible, but it would serve at least as a sieve and intercept the majority of the worst type of anarchists seeking asylum in this country. To enforce this would require a more extensive secret service in connection with our consular

posts in foreign countries, and a more rigid system of examination at our immigration ports. It ought not to be nearly so difficult to do this as to thwart spies in disguise, coming from an enemy in time of war. The anarchist's hand is against all government, and he should be classed as a public enemy and excluded for the same kind of reasons that the spy is watched for and captured. Much can be done in this direction, and must be; it is futile to pass repressive measures against anarchists already here, while doing nothing to stop the constant incoming of fresh recruits.

The second object of a rigid immigration law should be to secure, by a careful and not merely perfunctory educational test, at least some intelligent capacity to appreciate American institutions and act sanely as American citizens. It is very true that this alone probably would not keep out a single anarchist; they are usually men of considerable intelligence and sometimes high education; but it would do what is almost equally important,—tend to reduce the background of ignorance in which envy, passion, suspicion and hatred of authority are born, and out of which anarchistic sentiment most naturally springs.

The third point of an immigration law should be an adequate economic test,—proper proof of personal capacity to earn an American living, and the possession of a stated sum of money, enough to insure a decent start under American conditions. This would serve a purpose somewhat like the educational test, in insuring a higher general standard of immigration, but it would also give two other results even more important: first, it would practically stop the influx of cheap labor competition, which gives rise to so much of bitterness in American industrial life; second, it would help dry up the springs of the pestilential social conditions in our great cities, where anarchistic organizations flourish,

and to which the anarchist haranguers and agents constantly point as proofs of the tyranny of government. Both the educational and economic tests in a new immigration law should be designed to protect and elevate the general social background, and thus aid in destroying anarchism by inexorably closing in on its field of opportunity.

Suppression—to
What Extent
Feasible

Another measure which ought to be adopted is the prompt suppression both of publications and meetings in which government *as such* is assailed and its destruction by violent methods or murder of its representatives advocated. The classification is perfectly distinct, and there need be no danger of tyrannical interference with freedom of speech, as would certainly be the case if power were given to local authorities or the courts to suppress any publications or meetings which in their judgment were dangerous to public welfare. So far as the expression of views in regard to forms and methods or the modification of government is concerned, there should be the largest freedom, but to attack government *per se* and urge the assassination of public officials is an entirely different thing. It is of the same essential nature as a declaration of war by a foreign power, and the nation should put itself on a tentative war basis, as it were, with reference to the anarchist propaganda. Because these men, as a group, are not literally bearing arms is not a vital point; neither are the executive officials of a government with whom we are at war. But that government is the director and planner of the measures of force used by the military, and in the same sense anarchist societies are the devisers and instigators of the murderous assaults upon public officials or the plots laid for overthrowing governments. If we do not go to the length of imprisoning them, we can at

least deprive these voluntary outlaws of their power for evil, so far as that power comes from tongue or pen.

This is no time for sentimental concern about "liberty" for those who want only the liberty to destroy. A measure of suppression of the sort advocated could not be used against any propaganda which did not attack government as such and demand its overthrow; therefore, there need be no alarm that it would interfere with the free expression of any opinions which sought to modify or change the character of our policies or even institutions by peaceful methods.

The Responsibility of Public Opinion

But, when all this is done, the most vital phases of the subject will still be left untouched. We need a new type of public opinion with reference to the nature and value of our institutions, — governmental, industrial, and social. There is in this country a dark background of public suspicion and bitterness, directed towards capitalistic interests and indirectly against government as the supposed tool of these interests. This inflamed sentiment is continuously renewed and fostered by the sensational press and political demagogues in every quarter of the union. For years, capitalists have been held up as public enemies, and government officials assailed as uniformly corrupt and in disgraceful league with organized wealth for the systematic plundering of the poor. For example, the very papers which have been showering the most profuse eulogies upon Mr. McKinley, and picturing most lavishly the pathos and horror of the tragedy at Buffalo, are the ones which have most persistently and offensively held him up to public ridicule and scorn, and assailed his entire conduct of public affairs as either contemptible or despotic or both. Note, for example, the following as illustrating

the tone of the editorials that appeared in a New York evening paper after the assassination :

"With the closing of the tomb at Canton yesterday the career of William McKinley took its place high in the archives of the republic. We may be sure that the record will be bright. . . . There are two factors in statesmanship. One is the faculty of knowing what ought to be done; the other is the faculty of knowing how to do it. Some have one and not the other. These are one-sided and only partially successful. McKinley acquired both. . . . Power was like sunshine to him; it brought out all that was best in his mind. . . . The president will occupy a niche of his own—not quite on a level with those occupied by Washington, the father of his country, and Lincoln, its Savior, but high enough to keep him forever in our minds and hearts."

This appeared in the *New York Evening Journal*, on the very page where for two or three years, up to the very time of the tragedy, has appeared a series of cartoons representing Mr. McKinley as a contemptible object of ridicule, fathered by the combined trusts and nursed by a corrupt political boss. It was left for an anarchist, the notorious John Most, to make probably the most pointed of all comments on this sort of abomination. Most is reported as saying, in an interview :

"Look at the caricatures where your president is portrayed in a way that would make even a bootblack ashamed. Is it a wonder that this Czolgosz permits himself to be incited? These pictures daily show the president as a foolish little man. Such ridicule affects the ignorant mind."

On the Monday before the assassination, Mr. Bryan appeared before what are described as "two enormous audiences" in Kansas City, the keynote of his addresses being the declaration that "each decade of our history shows greater production of wealth, and the men who produce it have less to show for it." If this were true, and the process were destined to go on indefinitely, the outcome of course would be universal starvation, a prospect quite sufficient to incite anarchistic uprising against all kinds of existing institutions, governmental or industrial. The *Journals* and Bryans, and all of similar

type who have indulged in this indiscriminate and bitter railing, probably do not realize the extent of their share of responsibility for the activity of the anarchist propaganda, but the responsibility is there none the less. Once convince the masses that the hand of the rich and of the government is immovably against them, and that their lot is growing more and more desperate every year, and out of this hotbed of misinformed hatred some one is sure to emerge with a revolutionary or murderous remedy which, to his brutal mind at least, will alone give reparation and revenge.

The anarchist movement is not a single-handed, unsupported thing in American life. It has a background, furnished by the literature of envy and the language of demagoguery, upon which it feeds and from which it draws encouragement and reckless determination. Anarchism is the concentrated expression and outcome of this inflamed public sentiment, in quite the same way that Czolgosz in turn is the still further concentrated expression and outcome of the anarchist movement. The propaganda and its tools come to us from Europe, but the background and encouragement for its operations have been furnished here at home,—furnished through pandering to the lowest passions and playing upon ignorance in the hope of gain or of political preferment. This had become so patent a fact that when the Buffalo tragedy occurred these sensation mongers, as if by one accord, seemed to realize the extent of public indignation that would break upon them, and sought safety in a lightning face-about and utterly disgusting pretence of profound veneration for the suffering victim, both as a statesman and a man. The contemptible spectacle will deceive no one; and if the result could be such a revulsion of public feeling as would discredit everywhere the influence of this type of political hypocrisy and incipient anarchism in our public

affairs, a long step would be taken towards checking the revolutionary tendencies it has helped create.

A Warning
to Tyro
"Reformers"

But responsibility goes still deeper. The demagogues and the sensational press have not had to rely wholly on the ignorant masses for encouragement, nor even for moral justification. Great numbers of men of intelligence and standing, who ought to know better, have added fuel to the flame and lent the weight of their influence to a crusade against modern industry and institutions, inspired chiefly by prejudice and feeling, and drawing their opinions from the most superficial study of industrial conditions. With an instinctive sympathy for the poor, they have been content to accept the easiest surface explanation of these hardships, charging them all to plunder by the rich, and enthusiastically hail every new radical propaganda as one more promising sign of the golden era just in sight. They have assumed, on this trivial basis of information, to scatter social firebrands with no more thought of the consequences than disturb a child playing with matches around a powder magazine.

These cultivated gentlemen would be horrified at the idea of putting a coal shoveller in charge of a passenger locomotive, or sending a first-year medical student to perform a delicate surgical operation; yet there is nothing in the mechanical world or the physical world more delicate or sensitive than the complex fabric of modern society. For the most part, the so-called social reformers and "advanced thinkers," championing various revolutionary propaganda, are continuously rushing into print and speech, trying to be the engineers or surgeons of organized society, upon the meagerest acquaintance with economic principles or even with the literal facts of industrial conditions. It

is high time for public sentiment to demand that the entire brood of social prophets, heralds of new eras, messengers of hope, and "white-slave" emancipators begin to equip themselves with the rudiments of economic science and laws of social evolution before experimenting any further on the nervous system of society. At least, the public sense of discrimination ought from now on to recognize that anyone who proposes social revolution as a cure for social imperfections is in the same class with the tyro who would cut off the head to cure earache, and treat the propositions with equal contempt.

**Education a
Vital Necessity**

Finally, there is a profound responsibility resting upon the whole people, and if it is not fulfilled the other measures of safety will be of little permanent influence. That responsibility is educational. With a rigid immigration law and suppression of murderous propaganda, we shall have done about all the strictly protective work that is feasible, but there is a vast area of positive preventive work for the future. So long as demagogues and the sensational press are left to do the educating on economic and social problems, they will continue, in spite of a possible temporary reaction against them now, to determine the character of public sentiment on these matters. We have only begun the task of rational education of public opinion. Serious instruction in elementary economic principles, and the facts of industrial history and present conditions, has been almost wholly wanting outside the college class-rooms, and even there the teaching has been so theoretical and abstract as to give little real understanding of our institutions or idea of sound statesmanship or the duties of citizenship. To-day the field is ripe for popular education along these lines in a way never before

attempted, and the demand for it is coming from all quarters. It requires systematic, organized effort, and the instruments must not be simply the colleges.

Economic and sociological education, based on scientific principles and verified, intelligible data, must extend through the high schools and some time even into the public schools, and it must further be spread through the press, through special literature, and through local organizations and lecture courses organized for this special purpose. The long neglect of this field renders action on a large scale all the more imperative now. It may seem formidable, but there is no quicker or easier way to guarantee safety to our institutions and no other that can have permanently reliable results. The means of popular enlightenment are at hand, and therefore, in the last analysis, the responsibility for social security in the future lies with the community. It lies especially with the wealthy, who not only have most at stake in the maintenance of orderly progress, security and social peace, but are best able to provide for a widespread educational movement of this character. If the tragic death of the president shall rouse the nation to the necessity of this great work, the deplorable sacrifice will not have been wholly in vain.

Seth Low
for Mayor

The municipal campaign in New York city is at last getting under way. The lines are being sharply drawn, and there is more and more reason for believing that this year nearly all the anti-Tammany organizations in the city will be found presenting a united front, instead of the fatal division which brought disastrous defeat in 1897. The deplorable antagonisms which threw the control of the greater city into Tammany's hands have not reappeared, and there is nothing to indicate that any such split can be brought about. The most striking

single item of evidence on this point is the fact that Senator Platt, who was heart and soul in the movement for General Tracy in 1897, now endorses the nomination of Seth Low as the anti-Tammany fusion candidate.

The selection of Mr. Low has been made by a peculiar process of elimination. The general anti-Tammany conference of 74 members, on September 9th, appointed a committee of 18, composed of representatives from the citizens' union, the republican party, the German-American organizations and various other anti-Tammany bodies, to recommend candidates for mayor and the other municipal offices. Starting with a long list of candidates, this committee after prolonged discussion dropped name after name until all but one member of the committee, Mr. Herman Ridder, of the German-American reform union, were for Mr. Low, and his name was recommended to the conference and adopted by a vote of 68 to 2, on Wednesday evening, September 18th. Mr. Ridder and another representative of the German organizations were the two voting in the negative. They preferred Controller Coler, whose apparent willingness to take either the Tammany or anti-Tammany nomination has made him clearly unavailable as a leader of a genuine reform movement.

The balance of the ticket has since been selected in the same way. Edward M. Grout, democratic president of the Borough of Brooklyn and an active foe of the Ramapo steal, is the candidate selected for controller; Charles V. Fornes, a prominent democratic merchant, for president of the board of aldermen; Senator Jacob A. Cantor, democrat, for president of the Borough of Manhattan; Justice Jerome, democrat, for district attorney; William J. O'Brien, democrat, for sheriff. The city conventions of the republican party and the citizens' union were held on Tuesday evening, September 24th, and the selections of the conference

for city offices unanimously endorsed. The city democracy, led by former Sheriff James O'Brien, has withdrawn from the movement because the nominee for mayor is not a democrat, and they will undoubtedly be found, as usual, on the Tammany side in the final round-up.

The only other bodies whose defection is in any way to be feared are the German-American organizations. The German-Americans in anti-Tammany conferences usually find themselves between the horns of a dilemma; they want to be with the reform element, provided they can insert into it the continental notions of "personal liberty," and if this is not definitely guaranteed the experience is that Tammany gets a generous proportion of the German vote. It is hardly to be imagined, however, that in a situation like the present, where complete unity would almost certainly insure success, the German-Americans will wantonly destroy such an opportunity by breaking the ranks and transferring to Tammany what might prove to be just the determining balance of power. If the German-Americans are really and thoroughly interested in getting rid of Tammany they will sacrifice a minor point for the high purpose of municipal regeneration. The republicans have accepted a candidate who of all others was most offensive to them four years ago. Surely the German-Americans will not be less patriotic. Moreover, the platforms adopted by the conference on September 20th and by the republican party on September 25th are so liberal, along the lines of greatest interest to the Germans, that to refuse support would simply mean that there was no genuineness after all in the professed desire to join hands against Tammany.

Mr. Low has many enemies as a result of the campaign of 1897, but on the other hand he has done much

since then to restore friendly feeling, especially among republicans. There are many reasons for believing that Mr. Low recognizes that the split of 1897 could have been avoided if better judgment had been used both by himself and the citizens' union. He has broadened with that experience, and if elected now will probably make a wiser and more successful mayor by reason of his accession of practical knowledge of men and motives. Of his other qualifications for the office there is little need to speak, they are so ample and of such high order. Under his administration we might expect not only cleanness in the machinery of government but a series of wholesome policies dealing with the neglected social conditions of the city, and aiming to raise the standard of living and general level of municipal civilization. Now that the ticket is actually in the field, there should be a universal rallying to its support, and a powerful, united, determined campaign of education to carry it through to success. No friend of good government will be able to give an adequate excuse for standing aside at this moment of supreme opportunity.

**Current Price
Comparisons**

For Friday, September 20, the following wholesale prices are quoted:

	1901	1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.70a3.90	\$4.20a4.50
Wheat, No. 2 red	76½	84
Corn, No. 2 mixed	64½	47½
Oats, No. 2 mixed	39½	25
Pork, mess	16.50	13.25
Lard, prime western	10.62½	7.50
Beef, hams	21.50	19.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7	5½	8½
Tea, Formosa	23	23
Sugar, granulated	5.25	6.15
Butter, creamery, extra	21a..	21½a..
Cheese, State, f. c., white, small, fancy . .	. . a9½	. . a11½
Cotton, middling upland	8½	10½
Print cloths	3	3½

	1901	1900
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.50	8.05
Hides, native steers	12½	11½
Leather, hemlock	24½	24
Iron, No. 1 North. foundry	16.00a16.50	16.00a16.50
Iron, No. 1 South. foundry	15.00a15.50	. . a16.00
Tin, Straits	25.15a25.25	27.75a28.00
Copper, Lake ingot	16½a17	16.62½a17.00
Lead, domestic	4.37½	. . a4.37½

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for September 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Sept. 1, 1901.	Aug. 1, 1901.	Jan. 1, 1901.	Sept. 1, 1900.	Sept. 1, 1899.	Sept. 1, 1898.
Breadstuffs.	\$173.69	\$166.68	\$144.86	\$139.17	124.31	\$117.91
Meats	95.30	91.51	84.07	90.14	82.00	78.93
Dairy and Garden	130.09	132.61	155.56	112.51	110.05	95.48
Other Food	91.53	92.53	95.04	96.50	91.65	88.79
Clothing	152.34	150.27	160.24	158.43	155.02	145.33
Metals	160.91	153.45	158.10	148.70	174.13	116.97
Miscellaneous	165.25	166.25	158.81	161.69	144.35	124.67
Total	\$969.11	\$953.30	\$956.68	\$907.14	\$881.51	\$768.08

Breadstuffs continue to show advances, while, with the waning of summer, dairy and garden produce slightly declines. Clothing is a very little higher. Metals, for the first time, show some effects from the steel strike, but the advance is considerably less than might be expected under the circumstances. The ending of the strike and resumption of production will probably reflect itself next month in a decline, provided new elements of disturbance do not enter the situation.

THEODORE ROOSEVELT, PRESIDENT

By the assassin's hand Mr. Roosevelt's path to the presidency of the United States has been shortened. Yet he was heading for the white house, impelled by all the natural forces which induce political promotion. It is an unspeakable misfortune to him as well as to the whole nation that his promotion should have come through such revolting methods, and yet it is fortunate for the nation that under the circumstances Mr. Roosevelt was next in line.

He is thoroughly in the nation's confidence; he is probably the most popular man with the American people in the country. His promotion in political life has been exceptionally rapid and his experience exceptionally full. Unlike any other man who has reached the white house in half a century, his popularity is all his own. That is to say, it is with the people that he is popular. It was the spontaneous demand of the citizens throughout the country that forced his rapid political progress. He has the two qualities which the American people most admire and are ever ready to stand by—integrity and courage. It seldom occurs that a really popular man becomes president of the United States. The candidates for that high office are not chosen by the popular voice, but are selected through the machinery of party organization, and that, in the last analysis, usually depends upon the decision of a comparatively small number. After they are selected, they individually become party heroes by virtue of such selection. Good men, and perhaps the best men, may be and often are selected that way, but Mr. Roosevelt never enjoyed the advantage of having the aid of these forces to secure his promotion. Indeed, he has more often had them against him. His exceptional progress in public

life has always come from his personal popularity with the unorganized and unmanageable public, and this popularity was not due to his good looks, the suavity of his manners or the eloquence of his speech, but to his sterling qualities, which the people admire. He is not a man of political theories, but preeminently a man of action. He always does things and that is what the people like. And, moreover, his doing is always characterized by progressive public spirit and unquestionable integrity. Whether president of the civil service commission, or president of the police commissioners of New York city, or colonel of the rough riders in the war, it was all the same. He was active, energetic, trustworthy and always the soul of honor. When he became candidate for governor of New York state, it was by the sheer force of personal popularity. The organization was a unit against him and there were abundant reasons why Mr. Black should have had a second term. He had earned it; there seemed to be no particular reasons why Roosevelt should be substituted for Black on that occasion. Indeed, all the traditional reasons were against it, but his popularity with the people over-topped all ordinary calculations and his nomination was an irrepressible stampede. He carried his qualities into the governorship, and nothing could have prevented his election for a second term but the greater demands for his promotion to the vice-presidency.

The demand for his nomination in this instance was unique in the history of American politics. It came from every state in the union. It is true that those who would make presidents and governors their personal servants instead of public representatives in his own state, favored his nomination to the vice-presidency in the hope that it would retire him to the dust-box of politics or at least take him out of the line of

political promotion. But the people, who indulged in no such short-range, unpatriotic notions, demanded his nomination to the second highest place in the gift of the nation, and the sad event which is now depressing the country only too clearly shows how much wiser were the people than the politicians.

Thus he carries with him to the presidency that confidence and enthusiastic support of the people that have been the lot of few presidents on their first entrance to the white house. In the midst of the national mourning, which is veritable sorrow throughout the land, there comes from every responsible avenue of life expressions of buoyant confidence in Mr. Roosevelt as president. The chambers of commerce, the great business houses and financial institutions, and in fact from every walk of life the voice has broken through the generally depressed feeling, to express hope and confidence in his administration.

It is a peculiar characteristic of Mr. Roosevelt that while he is emphatic and sometimes apparently impulsive, he is eminently practical and truly conservative. He is not too conceited or vain to change when he is in error or apologize for a mistake. He has shown, moreover, that extraordinary capacity to rise to the occasion. He broadens with the duty and strengthens with the responsibility. In assuming office, with that good sense that never fails him, he promptly declares that his "aim shall be to continue absolutely unbroken the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity and honor" of the country. This declaration everybody knew was not a mere collection of words but an expressed determination. It was not an oration, but a promise which every American took in good faith.

In assuming the presidency under these dreadfully depressing conditions, Mr. Roosevelt has a double burden. He is called to assume the duties of president

wholly unexpectedly and to some extent unpreparedly, and he follows Mr. McKinley, who died in the very zenith of his popularity, which is doubly intensified by the revolting method of his death. All this will tend to make everybody more critical and some perhaps hypercritical of Mr. Roosevelt's doings. He is not beloved of the politicians and may expect only the most ordinary support from them. The people, the honest citizens throughout the country, who are truly patriotic and love the republic and who believe that its institutions, from the smallest office to the most responsible position in the nation, should be kept clean and above reproach, the people who believe democratic institutions should be undefiled and above suspicion, will give President Roosevelt their unqualified support. It is the part of patriotism now to hold up the new president's hands, to sustain him unqualifiedly, to look not for the defects of inexperience, but shower forth upon him their unqualified confidence that he may know afresh that the people believe in him, and their very belief in him is proof that they expect much from him, —and they will not be disappointed.

In declaring his intention to follow the policy of his martyred predecessor, Mr. Roosevelt showed wisdom as well as discretion. President McKinley's administration has been preeminently characterized by a policy of sound finance and industrial prosperity, a continuance of which will make any nation great. Under that policy the national wealth and name and fame have grown as never before. Wholesome and intelligently applied protection to domestic industry, and a sound, stable financial system are the two great things to be jealous of in the future. Surrender or compromise either of these and disaster may easily be brought upon the nation. Mr. Roosevelt may be trusted implicitly to adhere to this policy because it was not

peculiarly the policy of Mr. McKinley, but is preeminently the policy of the party his administration represented and also of the nation. So that all the conservative and wholesome forces of the party in the country will naturally and logically support Mr. Roosevelt in maintaining this policy, and the people who are enjoying the benefits in unparalleled prosperity will enthusiastically do so.

Besides continuing unbroken the public policy of President McKinley, Mr. Roosevelt brings a strong, clean, wholesome personality into the official politics of the nation. So far as he is called upon to act, the nation may know, know without asking, that appointments will be made on capacity and honor; that no position will be filled as the reward for questionable party service or by questionable persons for mere partisan influence or political purpose. He has too much good sense to introduce disrupting innovations into the official machinery of government, but the American people may be assured that any prostitution of office for party purposes, or corruption of the electorate, or coercion of office-holders to control primaries and conventions, will not knowingly be permitted by President Roosevelt. His hands are clean, his heart is honest, his nerves are strong, and the American people may be assured that all will unite in sustaining that purity in official life, with no less determination and efficiency than the continuance of the policy of President McKinley for the peace, prosperity, honor and glory of the nation.

TWO DAYS IN TWO PARLIAMENTS *

J. S. CRAWFORD

I.

The most interesting day I ever spent was in the French chamber of deputies, the most instructive was in the British parliament. I want to write about these two days. I want to describe the French chamber of deputies, and tell how the French law-makers deport themselves in a single session. I want to tell how the British lords appear to a stranger in the gallery and how the house of commons looks to an American visitor. I shall not discuss organic law, or raise a question about the comparative niceties of parliamentary practice. That has been recently done by ex-Speaker Reed in a delightful series of articles. Rather shall I try to tell what the average man sees and hears in these great parliaments, not what the jurist comprehends or what the legislator might apprehend.

Knowing that the pending term would soon close, and that some time must elapse before tickets of admission could be obtained from the American ambassador, I walked around to the chamber of deputies the second day I was in Paris and tried to gain admission. The building stands on a prominent corner near the center of the city and overlooks the river. It happened that there was no sentry at the big arched doorway on the Boulevard St. Germain, and I passed through, soon finding myself in a large paved court surrounded by a quadrangle of stone buildings, two stories high, glum and mellow with age.

A military guard at once put in an appearance and marched me to the soldiers' quarters, where at least a

*This article will be concluded in the November number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

hundred men were waiting to go on duty. They directed me to a seat and two soldiers took post at the door. I asked if any of them could speak English. Getting no reply I then asked if there was a German in the squad. One of the men seemed to understand what I said, and started off in a great hurry, soon returning with a short-legged Alsatian infantryman who spoke a German dialect. I managed to make him understand what I wanted. It seemed that there was no officer in the barracks, and the men crowded around me apparently anxious to come in contact with an American. I showed my passports, which all tried to read. The large red seal of the United States government at once attracted their attention and aroused their curiosity. They began to show me extreme courtesy, and as I passed out with the Alsatian guard some of them said "*Vive la Amerique !*" Many times after that I fell in with French soldiers and found them always polite, kind and anxious to show favors to a man who approached them with the salute and in a proper spirit.

The soldier passed out of the arched doorway and around to the quay on the river Seine where the old palace of the Bourbons, known as the chamber of deputies, has another frontage.

This front commands a beautiful view. Over the bridge and across the river you can see what is called the most beautiful square in the most beautiful city in the world, the *Place de la Concorde*. Further back is the Madeleine Church, purely Grecian and a counterpart of the palace of the Bourbons, both suggesting that harmony of which the French mind never loses sight. Farther up is the gallery of the Louvre; farther down the monumental entrance to the exposition.

You can see the mansion in which lives the president of the French republic, and the arch of triumph which Napoleon the First built to commemorate his

own life. You can see the treasury building, the column Vendome, made of guns captured in Austria, and Cleopatra's needle. From this point radiate great boulevards paved with sawed blocks and shaded by the twiggy tops of splendid chestnuts growing higher than the roofs, and spreading along both sides of the winding curb. You can see long stretches of lawn watered from fountains and embroidered with the blossoms of a hundred flower-gardens. You can see into the very heart of busy Paris with its shops and crowded avenues, or you can look along the river Seine with its boats, banks and bridges, to be lighted at night by the glow of ten thousand lamps.

We passed the statues of Greek gods and the massive pedestals in front of the chamber on which are seated the sculptured forms of Sully and Colbert, the greatest ministers of modern France. Then we entered another arched doorway, passing the military guard with a salute; we passed another paved court, traversed a long arcade, entered a hall and finally halted in front of a sergeant, who examined my passports and admitted us without question. From the sergeant we turned into another hall and then ascended a stairway, at the top of which was a doorkeeper, the most courtly and princely man I ever met. His linen was spacious and perfect. He wore knee-breeches, a silver buckle at the garter and another at the slipper. Down the back of his elegant evening dress-coat hung a heavy silver chain, from which depended a silver square. He made me sit down while he examined my passports and talked French with the Alsatian soldier. At length we passed on.

I noticed the infantryman was now very careful about making a noise with his heavy hob-nailed shoes. Presently we came upon another doorkeeper as rotund and distinguished in appearance as the first. I was

shown into a little room and directed to a heavy leather bench while the officer looked at my papers. It was some time before he came back, this time returning my passports and giving me a ticket of entrance. I then looked in vain for the little "stub and twist" soldier who had been so kind and successful in earning a gratuity, but he was gone and I never saw him again. An usher then opened a green leather door within three feet of where we stood. I walked into a gallery and took a seat not more than ten yards from the speaker's table. The clerk had just finished reading the journal and members were rapidly coming in. Soon nearly every seat was taken.

In its report of this session the Paris edition of the *New York Herald*, July 7, said:

"The sitting of the chamber yesterday was one of the noisiest and most violent that has been held for some time.

"At the beginning of the sitting M. Deschanel, the president, stated that he had received from M. Lasies a demand for permission to interpellate the cabinet in regard to the pressure exercised by the government on certain magistrates with a view to preventing certain citizens receiving justice. M. Waldeck-Rousseau, the premier, ascended the tribune and asked the chamber not to modify its programme of work.

"M. Lasies then mounted the tribune to discuss the question of the date to be fixed for his interpellation. He indulged in a violent attack on the Cabinet and M. Waldeck-Rousseau, whom he described as a 'Jacobin de salon.' He was called to order, but continued his violent language, and was again warned.

"This reminder, however, had no effect. He persisted in continuing his violent speech, and after a last and still sterner warning from M. Deschanel, to which he paid no more attention than he had to the preceding

ones, the president consulted the chamber as to withdrawing his right to speak. This the chamber did, and M. Lasies was called upon to leave the tribune. He refused to do so, and M. Deschanel put on his hat as a sign that the sitting was suspended.

"This was the signal for a violent tumult. M. Lasies shouted out to the extreme left 'You are a set of traitors!' to which a voice from the left replied, 'Get out, Judas!' On this M. Lasies, pointing with his finger to M. Waldeck-Rousseau, who was leaving the chamber, cried, 'There's the Judas, and he is leaving the chamber.'

"These words brought the tumult to its climax. Something like a fight began near the speaker's stand, and insults of all kinds were flying in all directions. The 'huisseurs' tried to separate the deputies of the right, who had gathered round M. Lasies, from those of the extreme left, who were trying to storm the tribune. M. Lasies, who stood with his arms crossed, seemed determined not to leave. Then the public in the galleries joined in, cheers, hooting and hissing being heard on all sides. M. Deschanel gave orders for the public galleries to be cleared. The sitting was suspended at a quarter to three.

"At a quarter to four M. Lasies was still in possession of the tribune and persisted in refusing to leave it. The sitting was therefore again suspended until some decision should be taken. The discussion, however, continued to rage violently in the lobbies, and the words exchanged between deputies gave rise to several challenges to duels. M. Papillaud, of the 'Libre Parole,' on meeting M. Peignot, deputy for the Haute-Marne, who had moved that the press tribunes be cleared, had an altercation with him, in which he called him a coward. A few minutes later M. Papillaud had an altercation with M. Chapuis and M. Cadanet, in the

midst of which blows were exchanged between deputies and journalists in the *Salle des Pas Perdus*.

"Meanwhile M. Lasies was still holding the fort in the tribune, which was guarded by the deputies of the right. A number of deputies of the left, says the 'Press,' made a rush at the tribune and tried to storm it. M. Odilon Barret seized M. Lasies by the throat and struck him several blows with his fists. M. Lasies came down from the tribune to renew the struggle with M. Odilon Barret, but was rescued by M. Millevoye and Charles Bernard and returned to his place on the tribune.

"The spectacle then became indescribable. Blows and kicks reigned on every side. M. Honore Leygues scaled the tribune and also managed to seize M. Lasies by the throat. A little distance away M. Jourde was exchanging blows with General Jacquey, while in a corner M. Morinaud, half strangled, was pitching into one of his colleagues.

"The president again requested M. Lasies to obey the decision of the chamber. M. Lasies declared he was ready to submit and left the tribune.

"The deputy of Gers has sent M. Millevoye and Comte d'Aulan, his seconds, to M. Odilon Barret. M. Papillaud of the 'Libre Parole' has sent his seconds, M. Millevoye and Charles Bernard, to M. Peignot. Other duels are expected."

The hall in which the deputies meet is semi-circular. The speaker's desk is at a point midway between the angles on the straight side. He sits on a platform ten feet high, approached by a steep, narrow staircase on either side. His desk is small, and always covered with books and papers. On a post which terminates in a goose neck is suspended a bell, whose tones are soft and mellow, but which he uses with extreme energy to reduce disorder. Instead of a gavel French presiding

officers use a notched stick, which they draw across the edge of the desk; when this fails to preserve order, the speaker of the house of deputies uses the bell; if the bell fails, he puts on his hat and walks out of the hall, returning when he thinks order may be restored.

The present speaker is M. Paul Deschanel, a young man, tall and alert, of pleasing address. M. Deschanel is a Parisian. His father holds a chair in one of the Paris colleges, and the speaker is allowed to be a man of superior education. He is a master of political art. As he stands in the speaker's tribune attired in the full dress of his office, controlling the parliamentary proceedings of the house, he compels admiration and excites interest in his future. M. Deschanel is an ardent republican and a loyal supporter of President Loubet's administration, despite the suspicion that he is inclined to trim a little.

The speaker's salary is ample, and he lives in a splendid mansion to the west of the palace of the Bourbons.

Back of the speaker's desk are tables for the file, bill and enrolling clerk. In front of the speaker's table is the tribune proper. It is approached by a narrow stairway from either side, and is two or three feet lower than the speaker's tribune. It is also much narrower. Men who address the house in a formal way are expected to ascend this tribune and make their speeches from it. It is not unlike a pulpit with a flat top, on which papers may be laid. This tribune is a highly polished and decorated piece of furniture. When a member begins to speak a serving-man brings in a service of wine and places it on the tribune. When he finishes the service is removed, only to appear the moment another speaker takes the place. Near by are the tables of the chief clerks. Around the speaker's stand is a small court called the hemi-cycle. There are

always sentries and sergeants and clerks and pages in opulent uniform about the hemi-cycle. Just in front of this court are the seats of the nine cabinet ministers, and here M. Waldeck-Rousseau sat before he ascended the tribune to defeat the interpellation.

Next comes the circular rows of deputies' benches rising abruptly like an amphitheatre. These benches are heavily upholstered in drab cloth, and each seat is provided with a desk and locker. There are seats for six hundred members. The royalists are on the right of the speaker, the socialists on the extreme left. Between them are the collectivists, the republicans, the nationalists, the conservatives, and the groups adhering to different royal families. I saw three curés, or priests, occupying member seats. The deputies are elected from districts called *arrondissements*. Each district is entitled to one member at large, and one for each 100,000 population. There are three hundred and eighty-five of these *arrondissements*. The whole floor is carpeted with a cheerful red. On the wall, behind and above the speaker's table, hangs a great work of art, a rich Gobelin tapestry, "Raphael's School at Athens," on one side of which is installed a magnificent marble statue of Liberty, and on the other side a statue of Public Order. Behind the upper row of members' seats is a circular row of twenty columns of polished marble. These columns support the roof, and back of them is the gallery with two floors, each one of which will accommodate three or four hundred people. These galleries are well seated, and command a fine view of the whole house, much better than do the visitors' seats in either the house of lords or the house of commons.

French visitors are admitted by a card from any deputy or the secretary. Foreigners must get a card from their minister or ambassador. Sometimes when an exciting debate is pending, like that upon the Drey-

fus trial, it is impossible to get admission. After the first visit I tried many times to gain admission, but always failed unless I had the ambassador's ticket. The great assembly hall is lighted from above, the roof being a truss, vaulted and very elaborate. The panels and spandrels are decorated in fresco and tracery, worked up in heavy relief. This palace of the Bourbons, with its auxiliary halls, stairways and offices, was begun in 1736, and finished in 1807. It cost \$4,000,000.

The French chamber consists of 584 members. The deputies are elected for a term of four years. The salary is \$1,800 a year. The French electorate consists of all male citizens over 25 years of age. This chamber elects the president of the republic, whose term is seven years and whose salary is \$120,000 a year, besides an allowance for household expenses. All bills affecting the public revenues or disbursements can originate only in the chamber of deputies, but all laws must have the concurrence of the senate. The chamber must hold regular sessions for at least five months in each year, beginning the second Tuesday in January. It has a wide jurisdiction. The scope of its inquiry includes such matters as the Marseilles strike, the burning of the theatre Comedie Francaise, the riots in the cemetery Pere Lachaise, the extradition of Sipido, who attempted to take the life of the Prince of Wales at Brussels, etc. Much of this legislation is considered in bureaus, instead of committees. The chamber is divided into thirteen bureaus.

Article 6 of the French constitution provides:

"The government ministers are jointly and severally responsible to the chamber of deputies for the general policy of the government, and individually for their personal acts."

This provision of the constitution and the power

to elect the president, with the wide scope of its jurisdiction, conspire to make the chamber of deputies one of the most important legislative bodies in the world. It was under this article of the constitution that M. Lasies desired to interpellate the premier about certain magistrates, which he had a perfect right to do. But in asking permission to submit his question he went on to argue the merits of his case, and that no parliamentary code would permit him to do. Either his cause was bad or he was resorting to a parliamentary trick.

Generally when a deputy desires to interpellate the government he gets permission of the chamber; notice is served on the minister; a day is agreed upon; the member makes his argument from the tribune; the minister replies, and in a great majority of cases the incident closes. If the question be one which involves the policy of the whole cabinet a vote is ordered, and if the cabinet is sustained nothing more is heard of the matter; if it is not sustained the government is said to be overthrown, and the ministers are expected to resign so that a new cabinet may be formed which will carry out the interpretation of the popular demand.

All this indicates why the seats in front of the nine ministers are called "government benches." It also indicates why a stormy debate may be expected when the "government benches" are occupied. In that debate I saw a dozen men on the floor at once, some on the extreme right, some on the extreme left, some in front. But, as the *Herald* said, this was a rare day.

There is no other people who can gesticulate with the skill, grace, spontaneity, exuberance, and rapidity of Frenchmen. There is no other people who can talk so fluently and so easily as the French, and there is no other people who can excite the passions of their countrymen so quickly. Then, too, there is no other

people whose passions extinguish themselves with so little provocation as this same race. Frenchmen wear their "hearts upon their sleeve" and their thoughts upon their face. They are direct and incapable of duplicity. Let the American who is inclined to make light of French statesmen recall the lofty and noble words of Lafayette, Mirabeau, Danton, Baille, Virgineaud—among the bravest of the world's patriots. Let him recall the relation of Jefferson and Franklin to the men who first unfolded the principles of civil liberty and social philosophy. Let him remember that France to-day is a republic maintaining herself in spite of powerful monarchies upon an open frontier, and then I think that no real American will fail to give this great people credit for what they are.

On the right of the chamber of deputies are the refined, highly accomplished royalists of aristocratic dress and social distinction. On the extreme left are the professional agitators. Between these extremes are the men of affairs who come from the professions and the large industrial enterprises of France. The latter are the men who really control the chamber of deputies, and give the nation its substantial character. They may not rise in parliamentary debate for recognition as men do in this country. They may not have the profound eloquence of the best type of the American orator. They may not have their committees organized on the close system of the American congress. But you can tell as they move about in their sack coats, with an earnest, honest look upon their ruddy faces, that they are men of purpose and determination—they are of the same class as Loubet and they will finally control, beyond question, the legislation of the French republic.

THE LESSON OF THE STEEL STRIKE

The great steel strike which began July 15th was finally ended September 16th. In some respects this is one of the most remarkable strikes that has occurred in this country for many years. The Amalgamated Association of Tin, Iron and Steel Workers began the strike with much in its favor. It has ended with everything against it, barely escaping with its organization, and that very much demoralized and weakened. One great advantage the union had in this contest was that its opponent was the newly-formed "billion dollar trust," which is the largest organization of capital in the world. The anti-trust sentiment which prevailed throughout the country created a strong prejudice against the corporation and gave every presumption in favor of the union.

It was an exceptional opportunity for organized labor to show its strength, conservatism and rational leadership. With an average amount of good sense and discretion, this strike might have been a great victory for organized labor, and the honor and influence of the outcome would have been greater because of the exceptional character of the corporation against which the strike was directed. Yet, after two months' experience, the strike has ended in a complete defeat of the union. But, what is more and worse, it has brought discredit on the leadership of labor unions. Public sentiment has slowly but unmistakably undergone a radical change. The managers of the United States Steel Corporation have risen in public esteem, and the managers of the amalgamated association have fallen. This is not due in the least to prejudice against labor organizations, but it has taken place in spite of a very strong prejudice against the steel corporation. This

change in public sentiment in the reverse direction of its prejudices has not taken place without very strong reasons. A few more such experiences on a similar scale would put labor organizations in disrepute everywhere.

This discouraging experience contains a very important lesson for organized labor. If the lesson is well learned, it may be worth all that it has cost; if not, it may have to be repeated with greater severity. The question for every unionist now to ask is, What was the cause of the failure of this strike? It was one of the most peaceful strikes that has ever occurred. The men, the rank and file, conducted themselves better and in a more rational and orderly manner than have a similar number of strikers on any previous occasion. In fact, so far as the men themselves are concerned, they have acted in a most dignified and self-respecting manner. Their conduct is highly creditable in every respect. The fault, therefore, is not in the least with the rank and file of the organization. The men obeyed the order of their president; they quit work to sustain his demand; they remained out and have exhibited not the least bad blood; they have been as peaceful and cheerful as if they were on a vacation at full pay. The failure is due to poor leadership.

Mr. Shaffer began the strike with a mistake, and he kept on making more mistakes as the strike advanced. He evidently began with the assumption that the unpopularity of the steel corporation would enable him to do whatever he pleased with impunity. He thought the trust had no standing with the public, and therefore he could bring it to its knees, however unreasonable his demands or offensive his manner. To humble the greatest trust in the world was to make Mr. Shaffer an industrial Goliath. He expected, as did the public, that the officers of the steel corporation

would be arrogant, dictatorial and high-handed in their treatment of the union. Had the object of his proposition been to produce that effect it could scarcely have been better conceived. But in all this Mr. Shaffer was entirely mistaken. Neither Mr. Morgan nor Mr. Schwab displayed any of the spirit of arrogance and persecution that was expected. They did not even make war on the organization; they simply acted upon the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the proposition. They met Mr. Shaffer to adjust prices and conditions for the ensuing year. They recognized to the full the amalgamated association and were willing to sign the union scale for all the mills where unions existed. To this they interposed no qualification whatever; more could not reasonably be asked. But this was unsatisfactory to Mr. Shaffer. He demanded that the corporations sign the union scale for the non-union mills as well as the union. This meant that the union rules regulating workshop conditions should be enforced in the non-union shops. The logic of this was to demand that the corporations compel the workmen in the non-union mills to join the amalgamated association under the peril of discharge, which is simply coercion. This the corporation very properly refused to do. Mr. Shaffer's demand was so contrary to all the elements and conditions of personal freedom that everybody, all classes in the community, sustained the corporation.

The absurdity of Mr. Shaffer's demand was too much for the American people to endorse. Had he demanded simply that the same rate of wages and hours of labor be adopted in the non-union as in the union mills, and that all agreements which had been exacted from workingmen not to belong to unions be abrogated and the men be left entirely free to join the organization if they wished, the whole country would have

been with him and the corporation would not have resisted. He was thus put out of court on the first count. Instead of recognizing his error and correcting his blunder, he proceeded to try to give the strike a political flavor. First, he tried to create a financial disturbance by attacking the banks and appealing to workingmen to withdraw all their deposits from financial institutions. He was novice enough to think that this would create a panic in Wall Street which would produce public indignation against the trusts. Failing to create even a ripple in this direction, he issued an ultimatum to the administration and the republican party demanding that they compel Mr. Morgan to yield to his demands or the workmen would become a solid unit and turn the party out of power. This was so clearly demagogical that instead of having the desired effect it produced a wholesale disgust with Mr. Shaffer throughout the country. From that time on, the strike lost ground; the men began to lose faith in their leader and the public lost interest in the strike and the cause of the strikers.

Under these circumstances, as is well known to all experienced leaders in trade union movements, the flow of funds dries up. Instead of a large and increasing fund accumulating by liberal contributions from unions all over the country and from sympathizing business men, only the meagerest amount was received. Not only was the public disgusted, but the sensible laboring men throughout the country were pained and depressed. The American Federation of Labor, which embraces in its membership nearly a million organized workmen, practically stood aloof,—not because it did not want the strikers to win, not because of any pique or jealousy, not from any unsympathetic feeling, but because throughout the ranks of that organization it was seen and feared that if the irrational and utterly

indefensible policy of Mr. Shaffer was sustained it would end in wrecking a large number of the best unions, and give a severe blow to the cause of unionism throughout the country. Consequently, when, as a last resource, Mr. Shaffer issued his order to strike in all the mills of the trust, the western organization refused to obey. He appealed to them with all the sophistry and subterfuge at his command. To their credit, be it said, they recognized that they had made contracts with the corporation which had not expired, and they were in honor bound to live up to them. In reply to this, Mr. Shaffer argued that they had no contract with the United States Steel Corporation—"when the trust bought the mills they did not buy the laborers;" thus using both sophistry and the influence of his office to induce his men to repudiate their contracts, which is the most damaging of all his tactics, teaching and encouraging as it does the doctrine that organized labor need not keep faith with the corporations.

An encouraging feature of this strike has been the conservative and eminently sensible attitude of the other labor leaders throughout the country. Instead of encouraging Mr. Shaffer in his mistaken policy, they at first were silent, not desiring to criticize a comrade, and next they quietly moved in diplomatic ways highly creditable to their sagacity to extricate the man from the embarrassing position in which his folly had placed him. With them it was how to settle the strike without sacrificing the union. They did not once justify Mr. Shaffer's claim. In pursuance of this policy to save the union, Mr. Gompers, president of the American federation, Mr. White of the New York garment workers, Mr. Sargent of the railroad men, Mr. Mitchell of the miners, and Mr. Garland of the iron workers, with the secretary of the civic federation, asked for a conference with the officers of

the steel corporation. Mr. Schwab granted them an interview of half an hour, finally extended it to nearly six hours, and to their surprise and to his credit he exhibited not the least bitterness of feeling. He was cordial and patient to the last degree. He frankly expressed himself as not in the least hostile to organization, but, on the contrary, favorable to unions. Instead of being defiant of public opinion and ignoring popular interest in the strike, he frankly admitted that he did not want public opinion against him. "To ignore public opinion," he said, "is to ignore the moral element in the strike;" the public is an important party at interest in the situation.

All this was as gratifying as it was surprising to the labor representatives present. He exhibited entire willingness to recognize the union just as much as when they first met. He did not show any disposition to punish those who had taken part in the strike. On the contrary, he volunteered the proposition that the corporation would sign the union scale for all the mills that were union, and the test of the union or non-union character of the mill should be this: All the mills that the corporation could run despite Mr. Shaffer's efforts to close he claimed as non-union, and all the mills that Mr. Shaffer could close despite the corporation's effort to run he conceded were union. In short, he would recognize the union in all the mills that they could control against the corporation, and all the mills the corporation could control against the union were non-union. This was so eminently fair and frank and, under the circumstances, voluntary, that no objection could be raised to it. The representatives of labor in the conference reported back to Mr. Shaffer a recommendation that he accept the conditions. There was nothing humiliating in the terms; no persecution to be coupled with or following the strike, and yet he rejected it with an air of

indignation. From that time he lost ground faster than before, and was ultimately compelled to sue for peace on any terms the corporation would grant. And the extraordinary fact is that, when the settlement came, Mr. Schwab added no new or harsher conditions. He merely renewed his original proposition that he would sign for the union mills and would not sign for the non-union mills. It was on these terms the strike ended, but it ended with the amalgamated association only about one-third or less than half as strong as when it began.

In the conduct of this strike Mr. Schwab and Mr. Morgan have done much to lessen general antagonism, and command the confidence and respect not only of the public but of organized and unorganized labor everywhere. It is almost the first time that great capitalists had the power to tyrannize and enforce humiliating conditions on defeated strikers and did not do it. The corporation has won the battle, but its managers have shown the good sense and wise comprehension of the public mind by not adding a straw of vantage because they were victorious. They offered at the last exactly what they willingly conceded at the first. Thus we have the greatest so-called trust in the world, which it was predicted would be the colossal oppressor of labor, showing a greater sense of fairness and discrimination, and evidence of good faith and willingness further to recognize labor unions even at the close of a strike where they were victorious, than has ever been exhibited by small corporations or individual employers. In doing this the corporations have won a respect from the union leaders of the country and the public which will do much to modify the public sentiment against them.

This strike has developed several important facts: First, that the American people will not long sustain unjust demands, whoever makes them; that the spirit

of fairness will always command public support in this country, and that neither laborers nor politicians can succeed in the long run by unjust abuse of any class. Second, it has demonstrated that in order to succeed and command public respect, or even the confidence of the wage-workers, organized labor must have intelligent, honest and discriminating leaders. When fools and braggarts are pitted against diplomatic business men, they will lose every time, and the cause they represent, be it ever so worthy, will pay the penalty. Third, that the present strike was lost to the amalgamated association through the lack of wisdom and unfitness of its leader. The victory has been won by the company largely because of the fairness and intelligent, respectful attitude of Mr. Schwab and the corporation representatives. It is a defeat to the association, but it is not a humiliation to the rank and file of the organization. The end is entirely free from any bitter sting from the victors, which should all the more emphasize the importance of the lesson to be learned: namely, that organized labor must be as ably led, must be as honorable in its course and as true to its contracts as are the corporations with which it deals. If this lesson is learned and the Shaffers are put to the rear, and the Arthurs, Sargents, Gompers, Whites and Mitchells put to the front, the defeat of the amalgamated association will be worth to organized labor many times what it has cost.

TYPES OF IRRIGATION IN THE WEST

GEORGE ETHELBERT WALSH

Irrigation is an old art, born in India, and practiced for centuries in Asia and Europe before it came to the attention of the Western nations; but from the irrigation schemes on the banks of the Nile to the engineering feats for distributing the water over the great arid regions of our West is a far cry. Nature taught the Egyptians their first lessons in irrigation by periodically flooding the land with the waters of the Nile, and in India somewhat similar conditions were produced by the overflowing of small streams and rivers after each heavy rain storm. The people of primitive times thus learned to store the water in the rainy seasons, and to distribute it over the land during the dry parts of the summer.

In Europe irrigation first developed in the valley of the Po, where the plains of Piedmont, Lombardy and Venitia were artificially watered centuries ago. The Romans carried the art to Southeastern France, and there on the broad, low plains the water was artificially distributed to make the land a beautiful garden spot. In Spain the early Moors developed a system of irrigation before their Spanish conquerors wrested the land from them. Relics of these Moorish irrigation works are still extant in parts of Spain near the coast where the land is low and warm. In Germany and England irrigation was practiced somewhat extensively in the middle ages, and it is likely that the Roman colonists introduced the art in these countries or at least improved and developed primitive systems of the natives.

It may not be generally appreciated, but it is a fact worth recalling that we owe to the Mormons the first

substantial development of irrigation in this country. Down in the arid regions of Mexico and Peru, and even in New Mexico and Arizona, the most progressive of our early Indian tribes adopted primitive methods of irrigation, which experience must have taught them was necessary for their existence in such an unproductive land. When the Mormons settled along the valley of the Mississippi they learned of the Mexicans and Indians how to irrigate land that for half the year was too dry to produce anything, and when they migrated to the great deserts of Great Salt Lake Valley they carried this knowledge and experience with them. Within a quarter of a century they converted a barren desert into beautiful gardens and orchards, and productive fields and vineyards. They began by tapping the small streams near their source, and extending their farms out toward the valleys where the waters would naturally flow, and then as the years passed and their population increased they loosened the floods of the larger rivers and constructed hydraulic works of considerable size and effectiveness. There is no better example in history of what irrigation can do for a country than the conversion of the Great Salt Lake Valley into farms and homes that have no superior in the world.

Starting in Utah, irrigation spread out to adjoining states and territories, but not always as a direct result of the example the Mormons had set. In Colorado, for instance, irrigation sprang into existence as an accessory to the mining industry. The development of mining towns and camps created a demand for agricultural products, and while the miners toiled for their hidden treasures farmers raised the fruits, vegetables and grains to feed the rapidly multiplying population. It soon became evident that in order to do this successfully irrigation would have to be resorted to, and so the rivers were tapped, and the waters that had yielded so

much gold were spread out over fields to produce a wealth even greater than that derived from the precious metal.

In California there was another distinct, independent development of irrigation systems. The early Indians, Mexicans, and a few Spanish grandees cultivated the soil in California by irrigation long before Fremont visited the country, and finally brought it under the dominion of the United States. The early ditches, canals and reservoirs constructed by the Indians and Mexicans are to be seen today, and they furnish interesting data showing how far advanced the first settlers in California were in the art of farming. When the gold seekers entered California they settled in mining camps and towns, and for the first ten years little was done in the way of agriculture; but the few who did cultivate farms and gardens learned the art from the native Indians and Mexicans. They fell naturally into their way of cultivating and irrigating the soil. It was pretty generally demonstrated in California that irrigation was not only successful, but an actual necessity, long before the modern engineer appeared on the scene. Since then extensive and superior hydraulic works have sprung up where before were only dirty mining camps or where perhaps stood the primitive ditch and storage reservoir of the early Mexicans, and California, as a result, can boast of the most highly developed agriculture in the world.

The development of irrigation engineering has taken place in recent years through the stimulus felt in having a grand field for operation. For a quarter of a century the problem of redeeming such a vast empire as the West from the grip of drought seemed too stupendous for any one to contemplate except in theory or on paper. About two-fifths of the United States was found to be so arid that artificial irrigation was neces-

sary for its cultivation. Hundreds of millions of acres of arid land lay scorched and burning in the summer's sun, which needed only the water from the rivers and underground springs to make it bloom in gardens and fruit orchards or waving fields of golden grain. In 1890 it was estimated that there were 1,380,175 square miles of land that could not be made profitable for the lack of water, or in round numbers there were 883,312,000 acres abandoned and uninhabitable. Some of this land could probably never be made of value for farming purposes, but, making allowances for the absolutely worthless land, there still remained 616,000,000 acres that could produce excellent crops if supplied with water through irrigation.

With one of the broadest fields among the engineering sciences, it is little wonder that irrigation has attracted the attention of the highest skill in this and other countries. To many irrigation engineering has been most intimately allied to city water supply or general hydraulic engineering, but in more recent years the reclaiming of the great arid regions of the West has enlisted the services of the most thoroughly equipped of irrigation engineers. In order to handle the problem on a large scale the engineer has had to consider the peculiar climatic conditions of the arid region, estimate the approximate cost of constructing huge reservoirs and systems of canals, and to measure the relative effects the work would have upon the development of agriculture. There have been great topographical difficulties to overcome, and scores of perplexing problems relating to rainfall, nature of the soil, and supply of river water.

California offers the most fruitful lessons of the value of irrigation, for no state has been made to produce more from her land under artificial irrigation than this Pacific coast land of fruits and flowers. Probably

more varieties of country and conditions have been met by the irrigator in California than elsewhere, and more systems of irrigation have been tried. The greater part of southern California would never have been cultivated had not artificial irrigation turned the waters of the rivers and underground springs on the land. All the conditions of climate and fertility of soil existed in that region for successful agriculture and horticulture except the regular and sufficient supply of water. When this was obtained the crops doubled, tripled and quadrupled. Within fifteen years a hopeless desert was reclaimed and converted into fruit orchards of the most tropical and abundant nature. The boom which irrigation gave to southern California, added to a delightful climate, attracted thousands of settlers to the Pacific coast, and it can be truly said that irrigation brought an influx of settlers into the state far greater than the discovery of gold back in the fifties. Irrigation really ran riot for a time, and every imaginable kind of land was irrigated and boomed.

But the most important feature of irrigation in California has been that by means of artesian wells. The state was not supplied with streams large enough to furnish water wherever needed, and resort was had to tapping the underground streams. Artesian wells were sunk at first to irrigate small gardens and groves of fruit trees, and the success of these proved so good that the search for artesian water became almost a mania. In Kern and Tulare counties artesian wells supply from two to three million gallons of water a day, sufficient to irrigate a large area of agricultural land. If properly handled the water flowing from one of these immense wells should irrigate from 800 to 1,000 acres. A remarkable belt of artesian wells sprung up in San Bernardino county. There are several hundred of them, with depths varying from 150 to 300

feet, and pipes from two to six inches in diameter. Famous Riverside owes its popularity and productivity largely to these wells, as before the wells were sunk the town was practically a worthless, barren region. Now the wells irrigate thousands of acres of the richest and most expensive fruit land in all California. The waters of an adjacent river have also been diverted to Riverside's former arid plains, so that the whole region is now amply irrigated, and from two to three million dollars' worth of fruit are sold from the land annually.

Besides the artesian well system, California irrigators developed another system of securing water for their crops. This method consisted of sinking or driving a horizontal instead of a perpendicular well. The great hills and mountains often kept the water from flowing in the valleys, and it was discovered that, by tunneling in the sides of the mountain, streams could often be tapped that would prove an inexhaustible mine of wealth. Some of the most important sections of the state have been supplied with water obtained by tunneling into the bases of hills or mountains to tap the underground flow.

The artesian well system has also been developed to a remarkable degree in South Dakota where there has been no other way to irrigate portions of the semi-arid regions of the state. The artesian system has been developed east of the Missouri in that state, and hundreds of wells have been sunk to bring forth the water for irrigation purposes. In the southern part of this eastern district the wells are from one to four hundred feet in depth, but in the northern part they often run down to 1,000 and 1,200 feet. The two and three inch wells furnish sufficient water to irrigate hundreds of farms. The northern wells are of much greater diameter than those in the southern part of the artesian

district, and they average from four to eight inches across. In Brule county there are thirty-five of these big wells which pump up millions of gallons a day. The surplus water from the wells is conducted in ditches that in some cases run hundreds of miles through the country. An ordinary artesian well will fill a five acre reservoir in a little over a week, and the average well is capable of irrigating from one thousand to twelve hundred acres.

In Colorado the canal system for irrigation represents an outlay of over \$25,000,000, and several million acres of land are supplied with water as a result. The constitution of Colorado early in the present irrigation movement declared every natural stream to be public property and dedicated it to the use of the people. There are consequently no riparian rights, and the water rights of the state are framed with the view to making them the most beneficial to the greatest number of people. Although private enterprise has constructed the huge irrigating plants, it has done so only with the consent of the state authorities. The state engineer having estimated the volume of flow of a stream at a given point has general supervision over all the canal companies engaged in irrigation, and he is required to see that the water is distributed according to law. Thus the State is divided into water districts, and water commissioners are appointed to see that the companies comply with the demands of the law. Each company is entitled to draw a certain number of cubic feet of water per second throughout the season, according to rules prepared for them. In this way the attempt is made to distribute the water equitably, and according to the rights of irrigating companies which may be situated near or far from the source of the streams.

In the great arid and semi-arid plains of Texas

and New Mexico irrigation has been far more interesting than in many of the mountainous sections, where mighty rivers supplied bountifully all the water needed, and it has been merely a matter of deflecting the course of these streams and storing the surplus water for future use. The great plains of Texas have not a single stream of water flowing through them. Even subterranean streams are entirely lacking in some vast stretches of arid land, yet the Llano Estacado, a tract as large as the State of New York, has been entirely reclaimed in the last ten years through the use of artesian wells and thousands of windmills. Also in the great desert plains of New Mexico innumerable wells have been sunk, and water is pumped up to supply cattle and pasture lands in an abundance. The climate of New Mexico is almost ideal for farming purposes, but the absence of sufficient water made crops uncertain and unprofitable. It now costs less than \$5 per acre to get water on these lands, and irrigation has been found to be a profitable industry.

The irrigable water in Texas is derived mostly from the Rio Grande, the Pecos and the Canadian, and enough water flows down these streams to irrigate the whole valley from end to end. In the autumn the water of the Rio Grande is somewhat exhausted from irrigation before it reaches the Texas line, and the farming industry below El Paso is thus threatened, but the June floods send the water down in riotous abundance so that valuable crops are often ruined by its overflow. The engineering question of paramount importance in Texas is to control the waters of the Rio Grande by storing the overflow of June for the droughts of August. Attempts are already being made to do this, but it will be a gigantic engineering feat that will require years for completion. Large dams are being constructed along the river where the

precious water can be stored. One at El Paso will be built which will give that farming district all the water it needs when the river runs low in August. In the valley of the Pecos in New Mexico there are a dozen of these big dams constructed, and the supply of water is regulated for this whole district so that the country is one of the most flourishing in the United States.

Along the whole line of the Rio Grande all sorts of systems of irrigation can be seen. It must be remembered that this land was irrigated long before the white men settled in Texas. Indeed, flourishing irrigation settlements were established at San Antonio, El Paso, San Saba, and Santa Fe at the time of the Texas revolution, and irrigation was practiced long before the Mayflower sailed or Jamestown was settled. One finds consequently the primitive type of irrigation of the pueblos of the Indians at one place, the crude box system of the Mexicans at another, the early improved ditches of the first Americans, the modern wells and pumping machinery of later periods, and the ditches and hydraulic machinery of to-day. All of these systems, ancient and modern, perform their work more or less successfully, but the irrigation that is needed for the great arid region is one that will economize water and not waste it. Irrigation is as absolutely essential to the success of agriculture in the greater part of Texas as it is in New Mexico, and with a perfect water supply the products of the state would be without rivals in quality and quantity. Most of the population of Texas has settled in the eastern or humid portion of the state, but with the advance of irrigation the newer sections are gradually being taken up and settled.

Description of irrigation schemes and systems in the West would be inadequate without reference to the windmills, which in recent years have sprung up in various states in great numbers. For the most part

these windmills are home-made affairs, and they dot the landscape with picturesque objects that greatly add to the natural features of the country. Not even Holland, with all of her old-fashioned windmills, is more thickly planted with air engines than are some of the counties of Nebraska. In some places one may view nearly half a hundred of these windmills from an eminence. In the towns and villages the windmills cluster in great numbers, and they tower above the surrounding roof tops to give a most quaint and picturesque effect to the scene.

One of the most satisfactory features about the windmills of the West is that they are largely of home-made pattern, and they illustrate the Yankee ingenuity and adaptability of the settlers as nothing else quite equals. There are many manufactured and patented windmills also, erected at great cost, and with enormous pumping capacity, but the great majority show the attempts of the farmers to adapt themselves to the soil by constructing their own windmills out of whatever material they have at hand.

Those who have not visited the windmill section of Nebraska in the last few years have no adequate idea of the changes the structures have created in the country, and pictures of the landscape to-day will hardly suffice for to-morrow, as the windmills are going up daily like mushrooms in a night. There are four or five types of windmills used. They are all designed to catch the wind and to pump up water for household uses, for stock, or for irrigating purposes. They cost all the way from a few dollars to several hundred, according to their size, the amount of material the owners had on hand, and the skill and ingenuity of the farmers who built them.

CAN WE STAMP OUT ANARCHY?

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you think it feasible for the civilized nations of the world to join in a wholesale movement to stamp out anarchy, root and branch? If our constitution is considered to prevent us from suppressing anarchist meetings and publications, is it not about time that we modified either the constitution or the interpretation of it, so as to except those who preach against government itself? To attack government policies is one thing, but to attack government itself is a form of treason, whether it be done by force of arms or indirectly by incendiary propaganda which incites to violence and assassination of government officials. Why should we not suppress the cause of murderous assaults upon the government, as well as punish the criminals after the deed is done?

D. E. R.

How to deal with anarchy is truly a question that civilization must decide. Civilization rests on orderly government; anarchy is the open and sworn enemy of both order and government. It is also true, denials to the contrary notwithstanding, that anarchy logically leads to and implies the use of physical force for disruption of government, and therefore it has developed thus far in the sneaking, cowardly assassination of public officials, regardless of their personal characteristics. This is lower and viler and altogether more reprehensible than the crime of the masked highwayman. In fact, predatory barbarism never furnished anything so treacherously villainous and cowardly brutal as this system of anarchistic assassination. There is no political, social, economic or moral reason why known anarchists should be permitted at large in modern society. The talk about theoretical anarchy as a system of society is talk only. There is no such thing; there can be no such thing. Anarchy and order are incompatible. Order is possible only with the recognition of rules of conduct, enforced if needs be by the social aggregate. Whether it is feasible for civilized nations to join in a compact to "stamp out anarchy"

is a question. They can agree on almost nothing, although they might be as nearly unanimous on this as on anything. But this country should do something whether others do or not.

Anarchy and socialism, which theoretically are the antithesis of each other but practically are identical in their attitude toward existing institutions and propaganda, did not have their rise in this country. They do not arise out of the conditions that exist in this country. Russia and Germany have practically furnished the world with anarchy and socialism. These doctrines of social disruption have had their rise rather naturally out of the despotic and progress-repressing conditions in those countries. Anarchy is as natural to Russia as pineapples are to South America, and the theory and propaganda of socialism are no less the normal product of German conditions. But in this country, where the institutions are constructed on the basis of all the freedom that is dreamed of in either socialism or anarchy consistent with order, safety and progress, these doctrines could not rise, and have not. They are imported from Russia and Germany.

But that alone is not the real cause of the boldness of the assassin. So long as only these ignorant and depraved advocates of anarchy and socialism merely preached to those who would listen to them and espoused their real object, they were limited to the back rooms of saloons, and made no impression whatever on public sentiment. The really dangerous element in the whole situation is the assistance that these anarchists have received from the unscrupulous journals and politicians in our own country. The boldness of the assassin is really the logical outcome of the systematic and utterly unscrupulous and often villainous attacks upon capital and corporations in this country, and mostly for political and journalistic reasons. It has taken the form of

denouncing large corporations and rich men as robbers who fatten on the plunder of the poor and through their wealth control the government. And the last phase of it is that the president and federal government are simply the tool of large corporations and the head of a conspiracy to rob the people of their wealth and freedom.

This propaganda was really first given body and respectability by Mr. Cleveland in his thoroughly demagogic attack upon trusts in his last campaign, and in his last message to congress. This same sentiment gave rise to the populist movement, which was an organized American phase of political anarchy directed against every form of successful enterprise. Railroads, banks and corporations were treated as the common enemy. Added to this, the free silver propaganda which further inflamed the same feeling, and the argument for 16 to 1, were based upon the same statements, treating the banks as a conspiracy against the people and the government as the tool of the banks, until millions of workmen and farmers believed that the government of the United States was an organized conspiracy against the people in favor of railroad, industrial and money trusts.

Mr. Bryan received his nomination as the result of one of the most inflammatory, anarchistic speeches that has ever been made. He has conducted two campaigns in which he has delivered many hundreds of addresses to millions of people, propagating all the essential elements of anarchy, and contributing to the mere financial success of such papers as the *New York World* and *Journal*. These papers, like Mr. Bryan, have got their wide circulation and popularity by dealing out in popular platitudinous form venom against existing industrial institutions and the government as the cat's paw of trusts. It is this persistent advocacy of anarchy in

the wanton, interminable attacks upon our institutions by the Hearsts and Pulitzers and Bryans, and their followers, that has given the murderous anarchists excuse and justification for the boldness of their action. Hearing their own ideas expressed by Bryan from the rostrums of our large cities and applauded by thousands and millions, and echoed by the Townes and "Coin" Harveys and numerous populist orators, and repeated by the *New York Journal and World*, and reechoed through the populist press throughout the country, they regard the cause of their "great revolution" as progressing and being endorsed by American public sentiment. They were thus emboldened to their murderous effort in the belief that they are martyrs for freedom.

These are the real causes of the anarchy in the United States which has just murdered the most peaceful and kindly president that ever occupied a public office. To stamp out anarchy in this country, therefore, two things must be done. One is for the American people absolutely to renounce all papers and public men who direct political propaganda by appealing to the passions of the ignorant poor against our industrial institutions. Mr. Bryan's conduct of the last presidential campaign was that of anarchy in the name of democracy. It was devoted to arousing the passions of the people against the industries and government of the country, solely for political purposes. If this country is to be freed from anarchy, such campaigning and such propaganda must be despised, and those who indulge in it treated as demagogues. Then no politician could rise to power and no paper prosper by dealing out this kind of sedition.

This part of the remedy is in the hands of the people to exercise as a moral and social influence. It cannot be enforced by law. The second step should be

legal. It should come in the form of a revision of our immigration laws, which should prohibit for ten or twenty years at least all immigration to this country of peasants who did not possess the equivalent of at least a year's American wages paid to laborers in their own industry. And second, that no immigrants should be permitted to land who have been in any way connected with the propagation of anarchy or who have been known to be even theoretical anarchists. Belief in order, government and the vested rights of property should be a condition of all immigration to this country for a generation at least.

SOCIAL CONDITIONS IN PERU

CHARLES E. GEORGE

Of all that extensive empire which once acknowledged the authority of Spain in the new world, no portion for interest and importance can be compared with Peru;—and this equally, whether we consider its inexhaustible stores of mineral wealth, its grand and picturesque scenery, or the character of its inhabitants. Land of historical era, the origin of whose name is unknown; of the Incas and Pizarros; of royal dynasties and altars smoking with live human offerings; of temples and magnificent edifices, Peru is to-day starting a new educational life which ere long will place it as a nation foremost among South American states.

Peru is the most important maritime republic of South America; lying just south of the equator, with an area of about 503,000 square miles, population of about 3,000,000, and a coast line of 1660 miles. The grand physical feature of Peru, and the source of all its immense mineral wealth, is the great mountain system of the Andes.

Disembarking at Trujillo, a seaport some five hundred miles from Lima and due north, one can follow the western slope of the eastern Cordillera of the Andes to the headquarters of the Marañon river, known as the seat of an ancient civilization of the highest type. Here is Huamachuco, where stands the old church of San Jose, one of the first buildings erected by the Spaniards in Peru.

Eight miles west of Huamachuco, the hill of Marca-Huamachuco rises to an elevation of nearly twelve thousand feet above sea level, its rocky heights tower-

ing 2,000 feet or more above deep, warm, well-watered valleys, which produce the fruits of a tropical climate. The summit commands the long western slopes of the eastern Cordillera and the broad eastern slope of the western Cordillera of the Peruvian Highlands, which here has a width of from fifteen to twenty leagues. It has this uninterrupted outlook, which caused the summit to be chosen as the home of these aboriginal peoples. Nothing could go on within twenty leagues without being observed by these hill dwellers, and it would have been almost impossible for enemies to surprise them.

The ruins of Marca-Huamachuco are now much dilapidated. All the edifices were built of broken stones taken from the native rock of the hill. The broken stones are jointed with admirable skill. The interstices between the larger stones were filled exactly with smaller fragments. The size of the stones decreases from the base toward the summit of the wall. The higher walls were inclined a little back to reduce the thickness at the top; clay was used as mortar. Some very high walls have been marvellously well preserved up to the present time.

On Marca-Huamachuco are both square buildings and buildings rounded at the corners. This latter kind seem characteristic of this particular province of Peru. The dominating type at Marca-Huamachuco is round or irregular over inclosures, which represent by themselves sometimes a whole fortress, sometimes a single habitation well protected by the character of their environments against surprise by enemies. About six such enclosures stand on the Cerro de Monjas and about four on the Cerro Viejo, but many similar buildings stood formerly in the interior of the fortress called El Castillo. All the rounded enclosures have very few entrances. If they are single habitations there are but

one or two entrances. Where possible, they are constructed above steep rocks. The characteristic detail of the inclosures is that they are all surrounded by double walls joined like a gallery. These galleries contain several floors connected by ladders and opening into the inner court. Some of the rooms of the higher floors have windows opening to the outside of the enclosure, but they were never of such a kind as to endanger security against enemies. The interior of the enclosures is mostly occupied by small square buildings of a single floor, following in their disposition no apparent order.

Peru consists of three regions, distinguished from each other by physical characteristics of the utmost unlikeness. The western coast descends in a series of plateaus and picturesque valleys to the sea. Here are centered that higher culture and progressive activity which give Peru the standing she maintains among the nations of the earth. East of all this occurs an abrupt transition from the mountains to the low lying broad forests of the Amazonian basin. The silent solitudes and torpor of this tropical wilderness have placed a spell over life in all its forms. The inhabitants of this region glide down the stream of time, unembarrassed by any need of serious forethought. The opportunities of all days are alike to them. Eastern Peru, since its first colony was started two hundred and sixty-five years ago, has been called the Montana or "wooded country." The early settlers were in an endless succession of romantic adventures. Towns were built, only to be destroyed, and the site of those of to-day has time and again been bathed in the blood of white and Indian, through centuries of conflict. The inhabitants here are noble examples of manhood, full of that courage and determination which are needful in estab-

lishing government and commercial prosperity in a somnolent and oftentimes treacherous population.

That Peruvians are a mixed race is shown by the strength of the Indian element in all, though the Caucasian blossoms out in a clear-cut arching mouth, a delicate face and strong chin, with a most perfect aquiline nose. The women are marvels of beauty and grace; they possess the finest feminine instincts of neatness in dress, and love of personal adornments. Few inducements to matrimony are so powerful among them as the hope of ultimate permanent removal to Europe or the United States, but many a cholo wife, attractive only in the lonely Montana, has seen this fond dream fade away with the growing years without suspecting the cause of that hesitancy in her spouse which was dooming her to end her days in the land where she was born.

Despite the privations, sorrows and blasted hopes of the whites and cholos, they form the light relief on the darker background of the cameo of East Peruvian life, for fewer and feebler still are the illuminations of the Indian's existence here. It matters little whether he be an infidel (*infiel*) or a *cristiano*, the limitations to his happiness are nearly the same.

The *don*, living in Peru in his *casa de hacienda* like a lord in his castle, having a numerous vassalry at his beck,—planting, rearing, distilling his *aguardiente*, tending his flocks of cattle,—far though he be above them, frequently betrays in his swart skin the same blood as that which flows in the veins of those he rules. Sometimes he may be a white, again a *mestizo*, or even an Indian, with the Indian's black waveless hair and heavy features. He would have become a chief had he been a savage; he is now a *don*, because of his estate, which lends him dignity. He has had the genius not to continue in poverty and helpless dependence, there-

fore he becomes the peer of the proudest in his native land. It is one of the anomalies of eastern Peru that a people so long kept in servitude have acquired no taint of social degradation in consequence; that neither aborigine nor cholo is anywhere spurned because of his blood; that, in fact, no one thinks of his racial origin, but is content with knowing his claims upon respect as a citizen of the commonwealth. The final distinction between men is founded, then, upon their riches—a not uncommon distinction in other lands; but riches here become too often translatable into the mere ability a man possesses to get himself served by others, to avoid manual labor of any sort. It is a remnant of those landed aristocracies still in operation here, not only in Peru, but in nearly the whole of Spanish America, destined soon to fade into the nebula of the historic past here as elsewhere.

The forces of civilization seem not to have stirred deeply in these Amazonian solitudes. But first impressions are often treacherous, and visible signs are sometimes an evidence of spent forces, beyond which there is less to be hoped for. In concrete attainment the field here is still altogether an open one; in intellectual acquisitions, however, the best class of the East Peruvians have emerged from the glimmerings of dawnlight into somewhat of the clearness of the day. It is unsafe to presume upon the ignorance of these dons. Many a stranger who has thought to teach them how the outer world thinks and does has ended by receiving additional information upon the same subject in return, coupled with reasons why such principles cannot at present be applied to latitude four degrees south. In Iquitos, a city of six thousand inhabitants, is one private library of over two thousand volumes, and several others numbering their tomes by the hundreds. In Yurimaguas are other goodly collections of books. At

every hacienda is a treasured shelf full,—Cervantes, Quevedo, perhaps a translation of Shakespeare, of Alexandre Dumas, a history of Peru, and works of travel. No mere ornaments are these, but veritable companions of the long, lonely spaces of time. They are not only read, but studied—penetrated.

The monthly steamboats coming from Para bring news and the latest periodical literature from Spain, Portugal, England, and France—alas! not from the United States, as yet. From hand to hand these monthly accessions pass, until they become disseminated throughout the entire breadth of these five hundred miles of Montana. The steamboats have done more. Through that extension of trade which they have induced, small though it has been, the people have been brought in touch with the great centres of European civilization, and have been educated to European methods in many matters by the friction of commercial relations, until they realize their own shortcomings, lament them, hope to see them eradicated by and by. They have not yet attempted entrance upon the domain of the arts. They are making money now, laying the foundations of estates. They but sparingly introduce the picturesque into their architecture, although the Portuguese type of structure, creeping up the river from Brazil, has feebly asserted itself, as far as the materials at hand will allow. The Spanish idea appears also especially at Yurimaguas, nearer the mountains. Here are the great porches, the balconies, the open galleries letting a bit of light through the corner of a house, just under the red-tile roof; the pretty inner court or patio filled with tropical verdure. The pollen of Indian influence has modified the exotic taste at times, where the house resembles the palm-thatched quinchá, and is decorated on the interior with palm-leaf mats fastened upon the walls, with the horizontally

fluted huicungo-palm posts at the doorways, and above them gratings of palm slats lashed together by vines, forming combinations of grace well worthy of imitation in other lands.

The present constitution, proclaimed August 31, 1867, is modelled after that of the United States. The president and vice-president are both elected by a popular vote of the people, for a term of five years. The Roman Catholic religion is the religion of the state, and the public exercise of any other form, without permission, is prohibited. Direct taxation does not exist, the revenue being derived from the sale of guano and concessions in rubber, mining and timber.

In almost every hacienda, where the don is possessed of wealth, may be found, on mantles and in cupboards, altars and statues of solid gold and silver; while many of the ordinary domestic utensils are of the same materials. It is asserted that the ingots of gold which were melted by the burning of the great temple of the sun at Cuzco, called Coricancha or "Place of Gold," the churches and temples at Caxamalca and Xanxa by the forces of Pizarro in 1533, if they could be gathered together, would amount to more than two billions of dollars. This is of course highly problematical.

Yearly the triumphs of industry are becoming more decided, the advance in architecture from the Incarial times more marked, the spirit of the natives more national, the system of agriculture and mining more nearly perfect, the priesthood more liberal, the educational advantages more pronounced. The Inca of years ago is fast reaching out for advancement in civilization. He bears a Christian name, he bows before the cross, but nature is a God to him, and in more than one sense he remains an Indian still.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

ENGLAND IS going to have a slavery question and a race question to solve in South Africa. The first entrance of this question into politics appeared in the debate in the house of commons on August 6th. Commenting on the debate, the *London Economist* says:

"There are not two but three opinions on the 'black labor' question. The first is that of the Boers, that the blacks were intended to work for the white man, . . . and that if they resist they should be whipped and shot until they obey. The second is that held by the British in South Africa, that the natives have no rights, especially to wages and just treatment, but they are not at liberty to be idle . . . or to demand wages which cannot be paid with due regard to the profits of the industry. The third is that of the Englishmen in England, 'that the native ought to work, but that he ought not to be made to do it by direct punishment for not working.'"

The discussion of this subject, which is likely to return to parliament many times before it is settled, shows how thoroughly social rights and privileges and even race inequalities rest on economic conditions. The English in Africa, like the Americans in the southern states, might as well recognize, first as last, that civilization will not tolerate slavery, and that the true solution of the race and color problem is the economic advancement of the inferior races. If this is neglected, they can never escape the dangers and disturbances of a race problem. It is only another way of saying that those who will have poverty must have the dangers that poverty and barbarism inflict. The race problem at bottom is the problem of poverty and barbarism. Black poverty is only worse than white poverty because it is of longer standing, and is nearer the predatory stage of human existence.

IN THE *North American Review* for September, his Excellency, Constantin Pobiedonostseff, procurator of

the holy synod of Russia, defends the educational system of Russia against the attacks of Prince Kropotkin. After charging Kropotkin with entire ignorance of the educational system of Russia and charging everybody else who criticises Russian institutions with ignorance, malice and numerous other un-Christian characteristics, he declares that under the reign of Alexander the Third they, "the schools," were placed on a new footing and grew rapidly. And with one illuminating sentence he describes the condition of the country, thus:

"There are no roads, and the people live on the steppes, in the woods, in the marshes; their dwellings are sometimes separated by five to eight hundred versts (331 to 530 miles) of uncultivated and impassable country; and the inhabitants themselves, without culture, here and there even barbarous, gain a scanty living far from all means of communication and the necessities for industry and commerce. Is it possible for human power to supply all these spots and out-of-the-way places with regular schools and masters?"

Nothing could more completely confirm the truth of Prince Kropotkin's charge of utter lack of schools in Russia. The procurator of the holy synod denies Prince Kropotkin's statement and then proceeds to describe the conditions which make almost any other condition impossible. A nation with one hundred and thirty million souls, whose statesmanship is only equal to creating industrial conditions which leave the country with "no roads" and compels the people to "live on the steppes, in the woods, in the marshes," with their dwellings separated by three to five hundred miles of uncultivated and impassable country, can be characterized as nothing short of barbarous, no matter how many churches it may have or how pious and loyal its people.

IT IS HIGHLY encouraging to observe the unprejudiced care that was used by the anti-Tammany conference in the selection of candidates. There was an evident inten-

tion to select a clean, capable mayor of New York city, who should be manifestly above and beyond the reach of Tammany influences and methods, from either Croker or Platt sources. There seems to have been a thoroughly honest effort to select a democrat with these qualifications, but the democrats themselves were unable to unite upon any man of this character. In search of such a man, the conference ultimately united in the selection of Seth Low, president of Columbia University.

Mr. Low is nominally a republican. We say nominally because he voted for Cleveland, and a man's republicanism is near the border line who could do that, but he is an eminently fit person for the office. One would have to lose all faith in human nature, all faith in experience as a test of character, in order to suspect for a moment that Mr. Low would be subject to the improper influence of either Platt or Croker methods. He has acquitted himself creditably in the same office in Brooklyn; he is president of one of the largest universities in the country. He needs nothing that these people can give. He is rich beyond the desire of increase. He would have to be baser than Croker to have any other motive than to serve the public to the very best of his capacity. Age, personal character, natural ability and honorable ambition, all conspire to make Mr. Low an ideal man for mayor of New York city. Mr. Low is not the only man who would make an efficient mayor, but probably there are none better qualified in all respects than he. With Mr. Low as candidate for mayor, and men of similar character for controller and district attorney, there is no excuse for anybody bolting who really wants to rid the city of Tammany. A bolt from such a ticket would be a mere political strike.

THE SUGGESTION in the September issue that it

should be a part of the industrial policy of the nation to have a uniform working day throughout the country seems to have very much disturbed the editor of the Baltimore *Manufacturers' Record*. It fairly rails at the idea and indulges in what it admits is sectionalism. Its argument in tone and matter is strikingly antebellum. It suggests that the editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE acquaint himself with the facts of southern factory labor. Unfortunately for our contemporary, that is exactly what he has done. He saw the tots of seven years of age working in the mills, turning night into day, and at this moment there is before him a bundle of pay envelopes that tell the sad story.

All that we suggested was that the hours of labor in the South should be reduced to the level of Christian countries, even continental Europe, and that a limit should be placed upon the age at which children should be permitted to work in the mills. To object to this is to oppose the simplest elements of progress. Nobody, and least of all GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, wants to handicap or cripple the South. The prosperity and progress of the South is as important to the welfare of the nation as that of any other community, but it is equally important to the progress of the nation that the South should not perpetuate these degrading conditions to the injury of the whole nation. The mere adjectives and sputtering hysterics of the *Record* are of no importance. The sad thing is that every such defence of the long-hour system injures the reputation of the South, and ultimately will injure its social progress and economic prosperity. No community can long have the benefits of industrial progress without conceding commensurate opportunities for social improvement. To oppose a ten-hour work day for factory women and children in 1901 is the full equivalent of advocating slavery in 1861.

FIGURES RECENTLY issued by the census bureau are suggestive. They apply to a registration area including several states and more than three hundred cities. The vital statistics in this area were compared with the figures in 1890, and the showing is that the death rate in 1900 was 1.8 less per thousand than in 1890. It also appears that the average age at death increased four years during the decade from 1890 to 1900. The census people seem inclined to give all of the credit for the evident lengthening of life's span to "advance in medical science and sanitation, and the preventive and restrictive measures enforced by the health authorities." An inquiry regarding what it was that called medical science and sanitation into operation will determine that the real cause behind the increase in the length of human life lies deeper than the wisdom of the doctors. By slow processes life has been made more worth living, which is but another way of saying that it is more valuable. A human life means vastly more than it did a few centuries ago, when pestilence walked abroad unchallenged, until it had been consumed by its own fury and had depopulated the community. When human life was cheap, when it was almost wholly animal, when comfort and culture were undiscovered attributes, where then was the medical skill to baffle with disease, or the sanitary science, which, by cleaning up the filth spots and sewerage the pestilential cities, operated as the ounce of prevention which in our wiser time is better than many pounds of cure? The fact is that science did not come to prevent, and the skillful physician to cure, until the standard of human living made life socially, economically and morally too valuable to be perpetually at the mercy of death-dealing microbes. As life grows purer in its purpose and stronger in its strife; as it becomes more human and less brutal; as the area of opportunity is widened, and

the disposition to get more out of it increases, the span of earthly existence will surely lengthen. It thus appears that real economic science, which deals practically with living decently and wisely in this world, is a moral force, a veritable handmaid of righteousness.

IF ONE wants fairly to judge of Mr. Bryan's character and capacity as a statesman and leader of men, it is only necessary to read *The Commoner*, which is verily The Book of Bryan. It has appeared thirty-four consecutive weeks, and every number is made up chiefly of pointed and pointless jabs and stabs at public men and institutions. The tenure of everything that is not a personal explanation is calculated to destroy the confidence of the people in existing methods and institutions. If its influence were equal to its animus, it would create a revolution in less than a year, and its method is as petty as it is persistent and vindictive. Here is a very ordinary sample (August 16th):

"The republican farmers and laboring men who have been contributing from their scanty incomes to help the protected manufacturers do not mingle with the beneficiaries of the tariff at the watering places. The possessor of visible property who is overburdened by taxation does not have a chance to take an outing with the possessor of invisible property who escapes the taxes. The man who waters his cattle on the farm does not get the opportunity to make the acquaintance of the magnate who waters his railroad stocks or his trust certificates."

Of course this vulgar insinuation is intended to appeal to the lowest element in human nature, and make farmers and laborers regard all successful manufacturers, business men and financiers as robbers and loafers, who get their fortunes by squeezing the common people, and squander them in luxuriating at the watering places. Mr. Bryan knows that this is not true. He knows it is a libel on the business men of the country, but he also knows that it is the kind of material that most effectively stimulates suspicion and

distrust, stirring the passions and arousing class hatred among the laborers. And this class hatred, however falsely created, is the material through which he hopes to gain political promotion. It was on this that he tried to ride into the white house. For five years he has been using all his arts of speech and pen to disseminate social prejudice throughout the country and destroy public confidence in the leaders of our industrial and financial institutions and the officers of our government. Every issue of *The Commoner*, like the *New York Journal* and *World*, is loaded with this class poison.

[Since the above was written the logical result has occurred. The president of the United States has been murdered. The persistent propagation of the gospel of envy by Hearst, Pulitzer and Bryan has done more to embolden the enemies of order and make this tragedy possible than any other forces in the country. These preachers of social disruption and precursors of anarchy may be beyond the reach of the law, but they ought not to be beyond the moral anathema of the American people.*]

*See lecture on "Anarchy in the United States," *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics* for October 1st, 1901.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Y. M. C. A. Educational Work

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Yourself and the readers of your valuable periodical are interested in all that improves the intelligence and character of young men. The *Boston Transcript* of June 8th, in an editorial, "The Y. M. C. A. University," thus describes the work and gives a brief report of the past season:

"Few people outside those immediately interested realize the growth and extent of the educational work carried on by the Young Men's Christian Association, amounting, as a matter of fact, to the functions of a national university of practical teaching, with its branches in every city of the country. The system of administration naturally differs from that of our public schools. Standard courses, it seems, are maintained by international examinations. Branches from grammar school to university find legitimate place. Pupils are of all conditions and classes of men. It follows that the classes are composed of men already in the whirl of life, past the schoolroom, able to devote only a little time to study, anxious to do all they can, and unwilling to spend time on much that would be unessential. With fifty subjects taught, the courses are certainly adapted to the special needs of the associations.

"It is very significant that there are 27,000 men, spending on an average forty-eight hours of recitation each season, or double the number of ten years ago. Last year, it seems, 1,520 certificates were won by men in 115 different associations, the movement having so developed in organization and in standard of work done that 110 colleges and universities recognize these certificates for matriculation. . . .

"In addition to its concerted evening school movement, the association wields a powerful educational leverage in its libraries and reading rooms, its "congresses," "topic clubs," and various other well-known forms of educational social work, which are reported in increasing numbers and quality each year. In no way, probably, could the Young Men's Christian Association have so completely demonstrated its usefulness as by thus becoming a great educational institution without laying aside its religious motive. And it is safe to say that there is no feature of its many-sided work so efficient and so sought after as the opportunities for culture."

As your publication is found in many of our reading rooms, our associations would be very glad to have you use the above quotation or make such notice as your space will permit. We send you a copy each of our last annual report and a report of the jubilee exhibit.

In behalf of the committee,

GEO. B. HODGE.

Government in the Hands of the People

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I do not want to be without your *Lecture Bulletin*. Allow me to congratulate you on your plain and easy style of presenting your subjects. I am especially pleased with your idea of doing away with

the caucuses, and am seriously contemplating lecturing on the subject in northern Michigan this winter, so that any more light you may be able to give on the subject between now and winter would be much appreciated. I am thoroughly aroused to the fact that the government must be more in the hands of the people. Your views on an improvement in the election of United States senators, it seems to me, would be very timely for a *Bulletin* lecture. God-speed you in your noble work.

A. W. BLISS, Harbor Springs, Mich.

The East and West Vote in 1900

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I would really like to be assured that you were more nearly correct on other editorials than you were on the proposition that imperialism frightened votes from McKinley in the East and the decline of the silver craze increased his vote in the West. Had you been on the stump and thus in touch with the voters of the West, you would have found that the same reason that frightened some of the people in the East to vote for Bryan induced a whole lot of them in the West to vote for McKinley. I could not help but bring this up to you, because your position on the question was such an exception to your usual position of being right on these questions.

C. H. THOMAS.

Hastings, Mich.

QUESTION BOX

The Machinists' Strike

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice in your September magazine you criticise the National Metal Trades' Association for becoming an anti-labor union organization, because of its experience in the recent strike. What else can workingmen expect, when they are continuously arbitrary and unreasonable, than to array employers firmly against them? How are they to rise to the level of decent conduct except by painful object lessons in the result of their folly? If employers are to submit meekly to all sorts of intolerable conduct by the unions and each time "forgive and forget," the unions will soon think they can run the business of the country and establish practically whatever conditions of labor and industry they please.

L. C. H.

Yes, we criticised the action of the National Metal Trades' Association for becoming an anti-labor organization because that was a wholly unphilosophic policy. Of course the laborers must suffer the penalty of their unwise conduct, but they will get this through the lack of confidence everybody has in them in proportion to their folly. But when manufacturers who have beaten them in a contest become persecutors of the defeated, they create a reaction of sentiment and they are sure ultimately to develop prejudice and perhaps malice among the workers, which will again arise to smite them. The employers would be much stronger both with the laborers and with the public, and even have a higher opinion of themselves, if having been right in the dispute and succeeding in the contest, they would show a willingness to be just as fair after the strike as they were before. To turn persecutor of the defeated is to show a small, malignant spirit. Compare the

difference between the National Metal Trades' Association and the steel trust. Mr. Shaffer was many times more unreasonable in his propositions than was Mr. O'Connell. The steel corporation has gained a much more complete victory over the amalgamated association than has the metal trades' association over the machinists, and yet Mr. Schwab and the managers of the steel corporation have absolutely taken no advantage whatever of their victory. They could have enforced many humiliating conditions upon the amalgamated association, but they did not change their proposition a particle, although Mr. Shaffer had been foolish to an exasperating degree. With victory in their hands, the corporation volunteered to recognize the union wherever the union was organized sufficiently to control the shop, and treat with the amalgamated association exactly as it did before. This high conduct by Mr. Schwab will not in the least injure the steel corporation. On the contrary, it will strengthen it everywhere.

It will strengthen it in the popular mind because it demonstrates that all the corporation wanted was sensible conduct, and that because the laborers had a foolish leader the corporation is not going to turn persecutor. This will do more to take the sting out of public opinion against trusts than almost anything that could have occurred, and with the laborers it has almost made Mr. Schwab a hero. The unions in other industries, as well as the iron and steel, are not only feeling but expressing their appreciation of the open, manly and even magnanimous way in which Mr. Schwab acted when he could have been a despot. The conduct of the National Metal Trades' Association in becoming anti-union will contribute to the bitterness of labor struggles in the future, while the conduct of Mr. Schwab and Mr. Morgan and the steel corporation

will tend very effectively to modify both the public and the labor union prejudice against corporations, which is a real gain toward industrial harmony. Whenever the victor becomes persecutor, he deservedly loses much of the honor of his victory. And, conversely, whenever the conqueror is fair, not to say magnanimous, to the conquered, his honor is more than doubled.

Tariff Reciprocity

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—It looks as if President Roosevelt would be even more in favor of the reciprocity policy than President McKinley was towards the last, and that is saying a good deal. I wish you would say in your pages just what you think about this reciprocity matter, and to what extent the policy might be safely pursued.

M. W.

It was the part of wisdom in President Roosevelt promptly to declare his determination to follow out the policy of President McKinley. That fact has given instantaneous confidence in him throughout the country, and has probably prevented a financial and industrial disturbance that might have cost millions. Yet the reciprocity question is one to which President McKinley was simply referring in his public utterances, and too much should not be made of it. It was a tentative sounding of public sentiment, not the declaration of a fixed policy. It should be remembered that reciprocity, so far as it goes, means free trade; that is, free trade by special arrangement as to articles. That may take place with definite advantage, but it should not be made the basis of simply increasing the free list. There is a tendency on the part of free trade journals, such as the *New York Times*, to harp on this and urge free trade in the name of reciprocity wherever there is

a fighting chance. Reciprocity should be applied on the principle of exchanging, free of duty, American manufactures for such products of nature and art as are not created in this country. For instance, a reciprocity treaty to exchange manufactures for lumber might well be adopted, although the lumber men would object. But the objection of the lumber men should not control. It is the effect upon the industries and conditions in this country that alone should decide. There is great danger of denuding our country of forests. Anything which would slacken the slaughter of trees in this country would be a wholesome check to this denuding process. If Canada will furnish lumber as cheap or cheaper than it is produced here, it would be a good policy to put lumber on the free list, if Canada would put some of our manufactures on her free list. The importation of art products, also, may be safely encouraged by reciprocity. In most manufacturing industries, the benefit accruing to the nation is the social effect from the industry itself. In art products, and particularly hand-art, this is not the case. The benefit that comes to the community is in the use and contact with the product. The introduction of art products so that they may become articles of common possession will do far more to cultivate the tastes and refine the habits and manners of the people than any influence from the mere production of them.

The extension of the free list by reciprocity on our part should be in the direction of commodities not produced in this country, such as needed raw materials and products the supply of which may ultimately be exhausted to the detriment of the nation, and the exchange should be for American manufactures. There is room for a good deal of reciprocity in these directions which may be advantageous to both sides, and tend to promote the cultivation of taste and

diversification of industry in the United States, as well as increase our foreign trade.

Books for Economic Study

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—To the possessor of "Principles of Social Economics" and "Wealth and Progress," who may not desire to enroll as a student, would "Outlines of Political Science" and "Outlines of Social Economics" be a necessity, or are they absolutely different works? Can you answer in your next number and oblige,
W. M. B., Macon, Ga.

No, the two latter books would not be an absolute necessity if you have "Principles of Social Economics" and "Wealth and Progress." "Principles of Social Economics" contains a department of political science, although perhaps not covering quite so many points under this head as are discussed in "Outlines of Political Science." "Principles of Social Economics" is intended for somewhat more advanced readers than the "Outlines." "Wealth and Progress" will be an important adjunct to your reading in either case, whether you use "Principles" or "Outlines."

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL CONTROL. A Survey of the Foundations of Order. By Edward Alsworth Ross, Ph. D. The Macmillan Company, New York. 442 pp., \$1.25.

In this volume Dr. Ross has undertaken the analysis of the principles and forces that govern social order. He has divided the book into two parts, the first being devoted to the grounds of control and the second to the means of control. It is essentially analytic. The author has gone about his work in a thoroughly scientific spirit. He says in his preface: "I am not wedded to my hypotheses nor enamoured of my conclusions, and the next comer who, in the true scientific spirit, faces the problems I have faced and gives better answers than I have been able to give will please me no less than he pleases himself."

This spirit characterizes the entire book. Every proposition is discussed with that same indifference, or rather lack of pride of conclusion. It shows evidence no less of wide reading than of unbiased thinking. Indeed, its very unbiasedness almost amounts to a negative weakness. It deprives it of that strong constructive character necessary to the formation and leadership of social philosophy. Dr. Ross treats social phenomena with such even balance as to be in doubt whether the new is better than the old. He describes with an air of lamentation the superseding of the local neighborhood spirit by the large group integration of modern society. With an evident air of regret he says: "The householder has become a tenant, the workingman a bird of passage. Loose touch-and-go acquaintanceships take the place of those close and lasting attachments that form between neighbors that have long lived, labored, and pleased together. The power of

money rends the community into classes incapable of feeling keenly with one another. Even while we are welding it, the social mass laminates. Everywhere we see the local group—the parish, commune, neighborhood, or village—decaying, or else developing beyond the point of real community.”

But his sense of equal-sidedness forbids his leaving the picture with this coloring, and hence he continues: “Of course this is not all the story. If the molecules of the local group are jarred asunder, it is partly because they fall under influences which make them vibrate in vaster unisons. Local solidarity perishes because bonds of fellowship are woven which unite a man to distant co-religionists, or fellow-partisans, or fellow-craftsmen, or members of the same social class. In this way fresh social tissue forms and replaces, perhaps, the tissue that dies. But these communions do not fit people to deal kindly and honestly by one another because, instead of resting on neighborhood or economic intimacy, they rest on preference. Like friendship, they are founded on affinity and selective choice. Implying a preference for some persons over other persons, they cannot embrace all those who meet, or deal, or work with one another, and therefore ought to feel bound to one another.”

Then, for fear he should have left too optimistic a view of the new as compared with the old, he adds: “The neighborhood or village communities that have been eaten away by the currents of change were probably more serviceable to social order than are the great civic or national communities that take their place.”

This view is not merely pessimistic but it is unphilosophic. It comes of dwelling on analysis to the neglect of observation of the tendency of new social formations. It is due to dwelling too much on the

process of differentiation, and too little on the tendencies of integration. This is apt to be the effect of pure analysis, because the work of the old is substantially complete, while that of the new is at best only in the making, and shows more of crude defects than of perfected improvements. That neighborhood or village community ethics, which makes everybody everybody's keeper, has an altruistic side, but it has also a stultifying, narrowing, stereotyping influence. The very fact that social intercourse and association are not matters of affinity and attraction, or, as he says, preference, but are uniform and all-inclusive, gives every one the right offensively to become their brother's keeper. It renders individual initiative difficult, and, if the community is very small, practically impossible.

One cannot have a new idea on religion or dress or ethics without being under the ban of the whole village, while in the larger groups of the modern city this neighborly inquisition becomes impossible, and association takes place on the plane of personal and social affinity. And so the community, instead of being one homogenous group in which innovation is almost impossible, becomes an aggregation of heterogeneous groups formed around new economic, social and political ideas. This tends to establish greater individual freedom and a development of new economic, social, religious and political standards. It is true that the neighborly spirit in the offensive, meddlesome form has gone, but the neighborly spirit in the sense of association by natural selection of common interest and affinity has increased and intensified.

Society becomes an aggregation of special groups whose formation rests upon specific interests, each endeavoring to impress its idea and standard upon the community. Now it is art and architecture, now it is ethics, now it is elevation of political morals, now it is

social rights of laborers, and so the multitude of new desires are constantly being created, formulated and enforced by the group influence into which society is differentiated. It is really to this that social progress is mainly due. To be sure, in the early stages of these group formations, when the old is being superseded by the new, there is always evidence of crudeness and sometimes of harshness, but it is the new that contains the germs of growth that are to give to civilization the higher forms of ethical life, human justice and social welfare, which were impossible in the small homogenous and usually repressive village communities.

The "neighborhood village community" type, being essentially homogenous, tends to social stultification. There may be unity and harmony, but it is the unity and harmony of simplicity and social dwarfage. It is the type of social groups which belong to the era of political despotism and absolute authority in religious opinion, and is incompatible with the spirit of personal freedom and democratic institutions.

GOVERNMENT IN SWITZERLAND. By John Martin Vincent, Ph. D. Cloth. 369 pages, with appendices and index. \$1.25. The Macmillan Company, New York.

Dr. Vincent tells in this little book, and in an interesting way, the story of the development of government among the Swiss people. Starting with the sixth century, and the Teutonic founders of the nation, the story continues down to the present, and contains a condensed account of those experiments in democratic institutions which have made Switzerland a unique nationality. American advocates and disciples of the referendum can get valuable information from this book. They will find that the plan, which has been dogmatically expounded in this country, is on its

native heather not a fixed and uniform scheme of government, being optional in some cantons, partial in others, and only obligatory in a qualified degree, while the federal features have not had the wide and constant application which many suppose. During a period of twenty years 164 laws were passed susceptible to the referendum. A vote was demanded on but eighteen of these, and twelve of the laws were rejected.

The book covers quite a wide range, and gives a fair view of Swiss legislation regarding many interests, social, industrial, fiscal and religious.

In the appendices a variety of statistical matter is given, including the federal constitution of 1874, and the Perpetual League of the Forest Cantons, promulgated in 1291. This is a quaint document, and is an interesting sample of the gropings of a primitive people after the delights of free government.

Dr. Vincent has produced a book which ought to be valuable for class-room work, personal study, or as a concise book of reference.

THE STORY OF FRANCE, from the Earliest Times to the Consulate of Napoleon Bonaparte. By Thomas E. Watson. The Macmillan Company, New York. Cloth, gilt top, 1050 pp., price \$2.50.

To tell the story of France, Guizot took eight volumes; to narrate the doings of the Consulate, M. Thiers took five octavo volumes. The story of the whole period is better told by Mr. Watson in two volumes.

The story is told with comprehension and discrimination, omitting nothing essential, and in a clear, concise and attractive style. The great epochs in the history of France, many of which were milestones in the history of the world, are described with a sufficient fullness to give the reader an adequate idea of their sig-

nificance, and the part played by the conspicuous characters is presented in a way well calculated to make its impression on the mind of the reader. It tells the story of France with an explicit directness, lucidity and attractiveness that characterizes few histories. The events of the troubled reign of Charles IX., with its St. Bartholomew massacre, the heroic struggle of Henry of Navarre, the revolution, and rise and fall of Napoleon, are told with eloquence, yet with insight and discrimination.

For a statement of the main features of the history of France, the development of its institutions, character of its leaders, the contributions of its people to modern civilization, through religious as well as political institutions, it would be difficult to find many better works than Watson's "Story of France."

A BIOGRAPHY OF MUNICIPAL PROBLEMS AND CITY CONDITIONS. By Robert C. Brooks. Cloth, 346 pp. Reform Club Committee on City Affairs, New York.

In this revised and enlarged second edition the author has aimed, as in his earlier work, to include the books, pamphlets and periodical literature on municipal affairs of the United States and European countries.

The bibliography is divided into two main parts, a subject index and an author list. The former is further subdivided and the arrangement is alphabetical.

This edition contains about 12,000 different entries in the subject index, and in the author list there are some 8,000 titles referred to under the names of nearly 4,500 authors.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Democracy versus Socialism. A Critical Examination of Socialism as a Remedy for Social Injustice and Exposition of the Single-Tax Doctrine. By Max Hirsch

(Melbourn). Cloth, 8vo, 481 pp., \$3.25. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Passing and Permanent in Religion. By Minot J. Savage, D.D. Cloth, 8vo, \$1.35, by mail \$1.50. G. P. Putnam's Sons, New York.

A Diary of the Siege of the Legations in Peking during the Summer of 1900. By Nigel Oliphant, with preface by Andrew Lang, and map and several plans. Crown, 8vo, \$1 50, by mail \$1.60. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Oliver Cromwell. By Samuel Rawson Gardiner, M.A. Crown 8vo, \$1.50, by mail \$1.62. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. With photogravure frontispiece.

Five Years of My Life, 1894-1899. By Alfred Dreyfus, ex-captain of artillery in the French army. Cloth, 8vo, 310 pp., \$1.50. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

American Diplomatic Questions. By John B. Henderson, Jr. Cloth, 8vo, 529 pp., \$3.50. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Jew in London. A Study of Racial Character and Present-Day Conditions. By C. Russell and H. S. Lewis, with an introduction by Canon Barnett and a preface by the Rt. Hon. James Bryce. Cloth, 12mo, 238 pp., \$1.50. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

Monopolies Past and Present. An Introductory Study. By James Edward Le Rossignol, Ph.D., professor of economics in the University of Denver. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.25. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

The French Revolution and Modern French Socialism. By Jessica P. Perxotto. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.50. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

An Introduction to the Industrial and Social History of England. By Edward P. Cheyney, professor of European history in the University of Pennsylvania. Cloth, 12mo, \$1.40. The Macmillan Co., New York.

FROM RECENT MAGAZINES

“Think of three hundred and fifty thousand children of school age and not one school-house owned by the public on the island! But systematic and vigorous execution soon told, and to-day there are forty thousand children being taught by capable instructors and thirty modern American school-houses being constructed. In April the ‘Columbus rural school’ was dedicated at Carolina. This was the first rural school-house ever built in Porto Rico. It looks like a New England school-house, capable of holding forty pupils, is painted the common lead color, has anterooms, blackboards and comfortable American desks and seats. The flag flies over the top, the ‘Star Spangled Banner’ is sung by the children, English is taught, and those who attend are bright, intelligent, ambitious. It is noticeable, too, that educational interests meet with hearty cooperation among Porto Ricans of all classes, rich and poor, influential and humble.”—WILLIAM H. HUNT, in *The World's Work*: (September.)

“I can now well understand why the weary brain-worker or the broken-down money-maker turns his face toward England and the continent in his rest-seeking moments. A few hours from London and he is amid the kaleidoscopic scenes of Paris; then Switzerland is within easy reach; Italy and Spain lie beyond; Germany and Russia, or even Turkey and Egypt, are comparatively near at hand. Within a distance equal to that which separates New York and San Francisco, there are a dozen nationalities, each with its distinctive characteristics and each affording the delight of novelty. But the United States *is* the United States from ocean to ocean, from Canadian border to the blue waters of the gulf of Mexico. The city which is reached to-day is but the counterpart of the city which was left yesterday. There is an unvarying monotony of architecture,

an absolute lack of diversity in dress and custom. The people are actuated by the same ideas, they speak an identical language, they sell the same goods in stores modelled after the same pattern. Market Street in San Francisco is but a reproduction of Market Street in Philadelphia, even to the ferries at the lower end; and State Street in Chicago is but Broadway built up again with greater width." HENRY LITCHFIELD WEST in "The President's Tour," *The Forum*: (August.)

"There are good men in Philadelphia and there are bad men in Massachusetts. But Pennsylvania has steadily sunk to perhaps the lowest level of civic degradation that any of the old commonwealths has ever touched; and in Massachusetts a higher level of public morality has been maintained over a long period than in any other commonwealth. The difference is not accidental nor without cause; for it is the natural and inevitable difference between a community where public office has for two generations been regarded as commercial, and a community where public office has for two centuries been regarded as an honorable trust. The commercial use of politics—office "for what there is in it"—will sooner or later bring this unutterable Pennsylvanian doom on any community. The lower type of office-seekers everywhere so regard the public service. The difference is in the supine public opinion which permits this class of men to rule, and the active public opinion that prevents them from ruling. The Pennsylvanians permit it—for the voters are to blame; men in Massachusetts bestir themselves and prevent it. It comes back to the individual citizen and his attitude toward the public welfare. In Massachusetts the honor of the commonwealth is the personal concern of the mass of citizens; in Pennsylvania, the government of the commonwealth has been left to those who make a business of it." *The World's Work*: (August.)

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SETH LOW

GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

**For the Reclama-
tion of New York**

As election day draws near, the prospects of an anti-Tammany victory in New York steadily grow brighter. Mr. Edward M. Shepard, nominated on the Tammany ticket October 3rd, at the express command of Richard Croker, against a powerful sentiment for Controller Coler, is in an impossible position. The spectacle of a traditional enemy of Tammany, a gentleman of personal characteristics the very opposite of the Tammany type, running at the head of the Tammany ticket is so incongruous that the candidacy cannot be taken seriously. As a "reformer" Mr. Shepard is thoroughly obnoxious to the Tammany rank and file, while as a Tammany candidate he cannot hope to hold the support of more than a small body of the independents who have usually followed his lead in political affairs. Among the former his candidacy creates lukewarmness, among the latter it arouses little enthusiasm. He has gone into this campaign with the weakness which uncertainty of principles always gives. His present position before the people is illogical, confused and inconsistent in every sense, and offers no elements of coherency or unifying leadership.

It is fortunate that, whoever wins in this contest, we cannot possibly have another Van Wyck for mayor of New York. Mr. Shepard is personally an altogether different type of man; yet it must be confessed that

by his acceptance of the Tammany nomination he has seriously shaken public confidence in his own resistive powers. To accept a nomination from such a source is to create a profound doubt whether the same influences will not control during his tenure of office, and at the same time shows a lack of those qualities of consistency and steadfastness of purpose so essential in high public office. By comparison with Mr. Shepard's previous attitude, his acceptance of this nomination and the speeches he is now making, justifying Tammany Hall as a necessary institution of honorable history and requiring only incidental reforms, reveal a willingness to subject principle to personal ambition which compels a revision of the previous estimate of the man. The political history of the country offers nothing more absurd than this sudden conversion to Tammany of a gentleman who, only four years ago, declared that "the most burning and disgraceful blot upon the municipal history of this country is the career of Tammany Hall." During the same campaign Mr. Shepard described the Tammany ticket as "a grinding tyranny of blackmail over the personal freedom of tens of thousands of decent men in New York, who can be oppressed or coerced by the police and other departments;" denouncing at the same time "the detestable deviltry and insolence with which Mr. Croker threatens to destroy democratic politics," and saying of Mr. Low that "a more well equipped man for the mayoralty cannot be found in the consolidated city. . . . He represents the very best that we have in American public life."

Mr. Shepard's
"Boomerangs"

Not only these previous utterances, but the Tammany candidate's present efforts to explain his peculiar political principles recoil upon him at every point. To the independents

he is declaring that, if elected, he alone will be mayor, an individual force, controlled by no ring; but only three years ago last month Mr. Shepard pronounced his own emphatic condemnation upon this sort of program. "Again and again," he declared, "independents have elected a good man on the theory that all that is required is to have a good man in office. Again and again they have been disappointed in the practical results. I tell you, fellow citizens, democrats and republicans, that much more is necessary; that the best of men in any office is himself, against his will, however powerful, in chief measure the creature of the conditions or the instrument of the forces that surround him."

He is not even consistent with himself in the present campaign. While defending the principle of party government as something very fundamental, and justifying Tammany Hall on that basis, as against the non-partisan opposition, he proceeds at once to denounce Mr. Low's candidacy as partisan, and assures the public that if he, Shepard, is elected, he will be responsible to no partisan influences. Clearly, Mr. Low's remark that the Tammany candidate lacks the sense of humor is entirely to the point.

Since Mr. Shepard's only apparent charge against Seth Low is that the latter represents something which Mr. Shepard himself regards as a vital political principle, it is interesting to recall what the Tammany candidate thought of Mr. Low's other and more personal qualifications four years ago. This opinion we have already quoted. In reality, Mr. Low individually stands for all that Mr. Shepard possibly could represent, of integrity, of experience, of high standing and all-round availability for the office, and in addition has the overwhelming fact in his favor that he has never lent himself to even quasi-endorsement of "the most

burning and disgraceful blot upon the municipal history of this country," nor jeopardized public confidence in his statesmanship and stability by a disjointed record of political shiftiness.

Mr. Low has no hesitancy in saying that, if elected, he will remove Police Commissioner Murphy and his deputy, the notorious Devery; Mr. Shepard dodges this issue with a technical quibble not creditable to his political sincerity. He says it is unconstitutional to make any pre-election pledges which would influence the voting. If this absurd interpretation were to be literally accepted, the people would have no right to ask any candidate what he expected to do if chosen to represent them in public office. Elections would become practically a "blind pool." Mr. Shepard complains that the opposition insists on making destruction of Tammany the sole issue, to the neglect of the great improvements and progress of municipal works so important to the city's future—a line of argument which is even less creditable to his sincerity than the former. Nobody can know better than he that the one vital and essential purpose of making the fight a fight on Tammany *per se* is to remove the greatest of all obstacles from the path of genuine, wholesome and honest extension of municipal improvements and civic regeneration—and not in bridges and tunnels only, but in the social conditions of the great masses, who determine in the last analysis the quality of our municipal governments.

What Was
Croker's Object?

Ex-Mayor Abram S. Hewitt has probably stated the true reason for the remarkable action of Tammany Hall in nominating a man who has made such savage warfare upon it. As Mr. Hewitt says:

"Croker realizes that Tammany Hall will have a crushing defeat in the coming election. He understands that this will be the end of his

career as boss. He has determined, therefore, to pay off all his political debts in a way that will leave a lasting impression. He never forgets or forgives what he regards a personal attack. Coler, in his 'Review' article, gave deep offence to Croker. He therefore decided to turn him down, after such preliminary tactics as deprived him of all chance of the Citizens' nomination. Coler was simply a tool, and has been discarded when he can be no longer of any use to Tammany. The other man who had given unpardonable offence to Croker was Edward M. Shepard, in 1897, when he denounced Croker and Tammany Hall in terms of bitter condemnation which have never been exceeded. He now proposes to get even with Shepard. If Shepard accepts the Tammany nomination he commits political suicide.

"Respectable citizens will never forgive him for allowing his excellent character and great abilities to be used as a cloak for the outrages of Tammany Hall. Having thus, by taking the nomination, lost his political standing, he will, when defeated, as he will be, have no political future whatever. Croker's revenge will thus be effective, although to accomplish it he pulls down the pillars of the temple, from which, however, he will escape in time. He will retire to England, and we shall hear no more of his influence in American politics."

If the result shall be Tammany's defeat, the later course of Tammany Hall and of Croker in particular will unquestionably confirm this view. The disaster will be charged to the influence of the "reformers" who, it will be said, forced Shepard's nomination, and the fact will be pointed to that whenever a genuine Tammany man was nominated he was almost invariably elected. Mr. Shepard's defeat will also prove that the people have more confidence in what he said in 1898, about the influence of a corrupt organization over a good man, than in what he now says about the power of one good man to reform a corrupt and thoroughly organized ring, intrenched at a thousand points through years of experience in turning the city government into a grab-bag of political spoils.

Dangers of
Tammany's
Waxing Power

Ex-Postmaster Charles W. Dayton is another example of a political Faust seduced by the Tammany Mephistopheles. Mr. Dayton was the candidate for controller in 1897 on the

"Jeffersonian Democracy" ticket, and in the course of that campaign made a savage onslaught upon Tammany. Here are some examples of his sentiments then :

"We no longer have a government 'of the people, for the people and by the people,' but instead have a government of the people by a despot for his own purposes, whatever they may be. . . . My friends in Tammany Hall . . . had pointed out in their mind's eye a career that I was to occupy, if only I would bow down and worship at the shrine of Crokerism. That, my friends, I never did, and as I value my citizenship and my reverence to the Almighty I never will."

The lapse of four short years seems to have impressed Mr. Dayton with the attractions of the career that had been pointed out by his Tammany friends, and now he accepts Croker's nomination for supreme court justice, along with Robert A. Van Wyck, whom he denounced in 1897 as unfit to be mayor, and whose nomination to the bench is an insult to the intelligence of the people of New York and to the dignity and uprightness of the judiciary.

That the Tammany organization has become powerful enough to induce its very enemies to become its apologists, at a time when the infamous "wigwam" is more brazenly corrupt, predatory and vile than ever, is enough evidence of the growing menace it presents to the future of the metropolis. If the great mass of the sincere friends of good government, in a year when fusion is complete and the candidate probably the strongest that could have been named, are not able to wipe out this "disgraceful blot" of Tammany misgovernment, the outlook for the future will be pessimistic indeed. Fortunately, however, the signs at present point the other way.

**Progress of the
Schley Trial**

The famous trial of Rear Admiral W. S. Schley, before a special naval court presided over by Admiral Dewey, in Washington, is rapidly nearing its end. The proceedings

thus far must be discouraging to those who, for almost inexplicable reasons, have been hoping that the outcome would prove one of our best known naval officers to be a liar, a caitiff and a coward. The adverse testimony introduced thus far has not only failed to develop anything of really serious weight against Schley, but the most of it has been flatly contradicted by equally responsible witnesses. At present, the testimony in support of Schley's tactics and his personal bravery is piling up at an impressive rate. The public has long since lost interest in the purely personal phase of this matter, as between Admirals Sampson and Schley, but it has a lively interest in seeing exact justice done to all the officers concerned in the Santiago naval campaign and the whole matter raised above the plane of merely spiteful newspaper controversy.

Although the charges against him have been continuous and bitter for the last three years, Admiral Schley remained silent until the publication of the "History of the United States Navy," by Edgar S. Maclay of the Brooklyn navy yard. This book contained a malignant attack upon the rear admiral's personal character and his skill and faithfulness as a naval officer, denouncing him as a liar, a coward, and, by implication at least, a traitor. Maclay being in the government service, and the proofs of his book having been approved by Admiral Sampson, Schley at last appealed to the navy department for a special court to investigate his entire conduct in the Santiago campaign. The request was at once granted, and the trial has now been in progress more than a month. In addition to Admiral Dewey, the court consists of two of the best-known retired rear admirals in the navy, Andrew E. K. Benham and Francis M. Ramsay.

We shall summarize the charges and findings of the court when the decision is finally rendered. Suffice

it to say now, that up to the present not one of the ten presentments against Admiral Schley seem to have found sufficient support to form the basis of an adverse report, either on his personal courage or merits as a naval officer. The only point of serious importance, which may be regarded as really in doubt, is Schley's decision to go to Key West for coal, on account of the roughness of the sea preventing coaling off Santiago. The testimony as to whether or not it was feasible to coal at sea is very much divided, but it is certain at least that with the moderation of the weather the trip was abandoned and the admiral returned and did coal on the spot, with practically no interruption of the blockade.

Bad Judgment
Possibly, Cow-
ardice Never

It is quite probable that the court will find certain errors of judgment on Admiral Schley's part, and for that matter it would find defects in the record of any officer whose conduct might be brought under investigation. The overwhelming fact remains and will always remain that Admiral Schley did maintain an effective blockade off Santiago, and that when the Spaniards appeared the *Brooklyn* was in the thick of the fight, led the chase, and with the *Oregon* overhauled and captured the last remaining vessel of the Spanish squadron, away to the west of Santiago.

As to the famous "loop," by which the *Brooklyn* swung around to the South and then to the West in pursuit of the *Colon*, Captain Cook of the *Brooklyn* has testified that he himself ordered that movement, and defends it as a technical maneuver of great importance in the final result. Whatever the merits of this "loop" *per se*, the effort to charge it to cowardice on the part of Schley is obviously little more than a product of malignant animosity. It is matter of evidence that the

Brooklyn's five-inch guns made more than one-third of all the hits that were made on the Spanish vessels by our entire fleet, and with the *Oregon* overtook the escaping *Colon*, while the admiral, then commodore, was constantly exposed to fire throughout the action, and according to Captain Cook and all the other officers of the *Brooklyn* was entirely self-possessed, cool and courageous. Whether the loop was a tactical mistake or not, to describe it as cowardly "running away" is merely silly.

It is interesting to note some of the opinions of the Spanish officers, who had a fair chance to judge, as to the performance of the *Brooklyn*. Captain Moreu of the *Colon* has said, in the *New York Journal*, in response to an inquiry:

"All the American officers, without exception, did their duty in the naval battle at Santiago. So did we, although it is certain that we were vanquished by superiority of force. It is absurd and unpatriotic to make any exception in the case of Admiral Schley. It is absurd because the *Brooklyn* was in the thick of the fight throughout. She was at the mouth of the harbor when we tried to pass out, and engaged us with a terrific fire, doing frightful damage to the end. In the pursuit of the *Cristobal Colon* we surrendered to the *Brooklyn* forty-five miles west of Santiago. The *Brooklyn* was the first to encounter us as we were coming out, and the first to lead in the pursuit, and she kept up the lead, with the *Oregon* vastly aiding. I believe the whole crew of the *Brooklyn*, including Schley, acted with great bravery under fire and amid the storm of projectiles. Of all the American ships the *Brooklyn* was the most exposed to our fire and to that of our batteries."

Admiral Cervera says:

"Admiral Schley accomplished fully the work allotted to him, and, therefore, it does not seem to me that there is any room for adverse criticism—at least from the American side. I don't know Admiral Sampson, and I have no comment to make upon him. Your ships went straight to work, probably without much commanding."

There is a sting in Admiral Cervera's comment, which ought at least to appeal to the American sense of the fitness of things, if not to our patriotism. It is not an edifying spectacle for other nations that three

years after so great a victory as Santiago the officer in command of our fleet during the battle should find it necessary to request a court of inquiry to decide whether or not he was a coward and traitor. Officers are often court-martialed for conduct leading to a defeat in battle, but it is remarkable to find one pilloried for the crime of winning a victory. Admiral Schley may have committed various errors, and probably will not rank with our greatest naval officers, but the record of his flagship in the battle and the results of the work done by our fleet while he was in command will chiefly determine history's verdict upon his case.

Whatever the findings of the court may be, it is much to be regretted that such a controversy should have occurred at all. In this connection, the proposed congressional investigation into the underlying motives of the charges against Rear Admiral Schley will be awaited with interest. It is to be hoped that the decision may be rendered at an early date, and the whole matter permanently laid to rest.

Echoes of the Steel Strike

Now that the unfortunate strike of the steel workers is over, the after developments are showing in still clearer light the disastrous part that bad leadership played in the result. Having lost the opportunity in the first instance of gaining much for the men by making reasonable and moderate demands, and having still further frittered away the points of vantage still remaining, by refusing propositions of settlement which would at least have left the amalgamated association no worse off than at the beginning, and having finally been compelled to settle at a time when the arrangement accepted left the association with a greatly reduced range of influence and control, President Shaffer is now trying to shift the blame to other shoulders. He declares that he did not

get the support promised him, and has accused Presidents John Mitchell, of the coal miners, and Samuel Gompers, of the American Federation of Labor, of failing to attend a meeting arranged with Mr. Morgan; and especially charges the federation with failing to furnish any money. Messrs. Mitchell and Gompers in reply have proposed a committee of inquiry to investigate their whole attitude and offered to resign from their respective offices if the committee finds the charges well founded.

Mr. Gompers has published a long statement in the last number of the *Federationist*, refuting Shaffer's charges and showing the degree of actual support given by the federation to the steel workers' strike. He shows that no application for financial aid was ever made by Mr. Shaffer, or any representative of the steel workers, but that this assistance would have been given if requested. President Gompers declined to order a sympathetic strike, because he "felt confident that the executive officers of the trade unions of America ought not and would not violate or break their contracts or agreements with their employers throughout the country." In this position Mr. Gompers will have the unanimous support of public sentiment, and all the more heartily because of the contrast with Shaffer's call on the men, during the strike, to break their contracts simply because the corporations with whom the contracts were originally made had been absorbed by the "trust."

Mr. Shaffer will utterly fail to impress anybody with his complaints. Indeed, toward the end of the strike, public sentiment was rapidly growing to the point of sharp criticism of Samuel Gompers for the open support he was giving to the amalgamated association. It was felt that he went too far in his interviews and statements bolstering up an unjustifiable cause, even

though in reality he was trying to help the men rather than endorse the erratic and foolish course of their leader. The American Federation of Labor will not suffer from Shaffer's attacks, but the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers will be long in recovering from this unfortunate experience. The settlement finally made leaves the unions in control of eleven fewer mills than last year, and without the privilege of attempting to organize or issue charters in any of the mills now claimed by the corporation as non-union. With such a loss of power and prestige, a reorganization of the amalgamated association may have to come. If it does, the necessity of wiser leadership, respect for the sacredness of contracts, and absence of demagoguery, must be the foundation stones. On nothing else can permanent success, increasing industrial influence, and a steady accession of confidence and respect in the relations with both employers and the public, be founded.

A Creditable

"Trust" Example

The United States Steel Corporation seems to realize its precarious position at the bar of public opinion. Apparently it is trying to justify itself by a rational regard for popular sentiment and liberal policies of management. Its conduct in the recent strike, and especially the attitude of President Schwab in refraining from turning his victory into a war of extermination on organized labor, was a notable example of this evident desire to earn a creditable standing in the community. As if still further to confirm this, the company has just made public a detailed report of earnings, expenditures, dividends and profits during the last six months,—an almost unprecedented step in the financial management of large industrial corporations. Reports of this sort are regularly published by banks and railroads, under legal

compulsion, but the steel corporation has taken a step in advance of the law by voluntarily including the public in its confidence. The report shows net earnings during six months of nearly \$55,000,000, interest payments of \$7,600,000, sinking funds and maintenance amounting to about \$7,000,000, first and second quarterly dividends on both common and preferred stock amounting to a little less than \$28,000,000, leaving a balance available for new expenditures, or to hold as surplus, amounting to \$12,326,742.

Both the size of the profits and the new policy of publicity have made a very favorable impression. It would appear on the surface at least that little has been lost through the strike; in fact, it is claimed by the corporation that the strike permitted the making of repairs and consolidations which would have involved shut-downs any way, during the summer, while work was transferred from the idle mills to those in active operation. There is no question, however, that the strike did inflict serious losses; either the present report shows a smaller profit than would otherwise have been earned, or the loss will reveal itself in the next report. *Bradstreet's* for October 5th well reflects the sentiment of the business community on the new policy of the corporation:

"In adopting the policy of publishing such returns the United States Steel Corporation has set a good example. It is no doubt impracticable to exhibit the operations of concerns of this class with the same fullness of detail as in a railroad company's report. At the same time industrial companies, with a few honorable exceptions, have either made no report at all or presented their earnings in the briefest and most unsatisfactory way. It is needless to remark that if the management of the United States Steel Corporation adheres to the determination which it is announced has been reached in this respect, the effect will unquestionably be to strengthen the position of its securities in the eyes of the investing public."

It is to be hoped that no experience of the steel corporation, either with unreasonable and arbitrary

labor leaders or with a demagogical antagonistic press, will induce it to depart from the liberal and reasonable tendencies of its present management. If this giant corporation shall adhere to the policy of willingness to be reasonable in its dealings with organized labor, and to take the public into its confidence respecting the earnings and policies of its business, it will go far toward dispelling the prejudice against large corporations, and do as much to guarantee the security of capitalistic enterprise in the future as the arbitrary, exclusive and belligerent policies that have too largely characterized corporation management in the past have done to endanger it.

Current Price Comparisons For Monday, October 21, the following wholesale prices are quoted:

	1901	1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.70	\$4.00
Wheat, No. 2 red	78½	78½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	61½	46½
Oats, No. 2 mixed	39½	25½
Pork, mess	16.00	13.50
Beef, hams	21.50	18.00
Coffee, Rio No. 7	6½	8½
Sugar, granulated	5.10	5.75
Butter, creamery, extra	22½	22½
Cheese, State, f. c., white, small, fancy . .	10	10½
Cotton, middling upland	8½	9½
Print cloths	3	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.65	7.45
Hides, native steers	13½	11½
Leather, hemlock	24½	24
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00	15.00
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00	15.00
Tin, Straits	25.00	28.30
Copper, Lake ingot	16.85	16.62½
Lead, domestic	4.37½	4.37½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20.	4.40	—
Steel rails	28.00	—
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	2.30	—

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for October 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1891.	Oct. 1, 1898.	Oct. 1, 1899.	Oct. 1, 1900.	Jan. 1, 1901.	Sept. 1, 1901.	Oct. 1, 1901.
Breadstuffs. . . .	\$19.725	\$11.759	\$13.315	\$14.255	\$14.486	\$17.369	\$17.146
Meats	7.810	7.628	8.378	9.105	8.407	9.530	9.517
Dairy and garden	16.270	9.021	11.663	12.231	15.556	13.009	13.164
Other food . . .	10.215	8.812	9.069	9.803	9.504	9.153	9.190
Clothing	14.135	14.350	15.865	15.980	16.024	15.234	15.279
Metals.	15.875	11.796	18.042	15.574	15.810	16.091	15.760
Miscellaneous . .	14.217	12.604	14.965	15.666	15.881	16.525	16.835
Total	\$98.247	\$75.970	\$91.297	\$92.614	\$95.668	\$96.911	\$96.891

The changes since last month are so slight as to require practically no comment. Metals, which on Sept. 1st showed a slight advance, due to the strike disturbance, are again on the decline, showing the absence either of the disposition or the ability, or both, of iron and steel producers to shift the burden of this struggle to the producers in higher prices.

NEW YORK MAYORALTY ELECTION

The mayoralty election to take place in New York city on the 5th of November, 1901, is an event of national significance. It involves much more than the honest administration of the municipal affairs of New York city; it is really a struggle between decency and debauchery in our political methods. The city government of New York is typical, though perhaps the worst specimen, of corrupt and degrading methods in American politics. It is in the hands of a coterie of degenerate vulgar creatures, who are as corrupt politically as they are depraved morally. This coterie has become so thoroughly entrenched in the political machinery of municipal administration that for years it has controlled and practically owned the offices and dictated, not alone the policy, but the disbursement of and stealing from the public revenues, the sale of rights and suppression of privileges, the protection to crime, the coercion of virtue, in nearly all walks of life. It is not governed by a political party, but by a secret organization which allies itself with a political party, but is seldom loyal to it except so far as serves the purpose of strengthening its hold on the control of the city government.

There are many bad features in the government of large cities. New York is not alone in this respect; but there is probably not an instance in the world where, by systematic organization, persistence in crime and corruption, defiance of decent sentiment and the use of the criminal classes is so completely interwoven in the municipal administration as in New York city. Tammany rule is the acme of all that is depraved and vicious in government. Success has made it bold, and boldness has made its authority a reign of terror. Every department of public administration is in the

hands of the obedient servants of this organization of political crooks and moral degenerates. The police force, which should be the guardian of the property and virtues of the city, is converted into an organized system of coercion, plunder and blackmail.

The financial success of this conspiracy against the public is shown in the prosperity and even opulence of some of the conspicuous characters who manage this remarkable organization. The chief, who was never known to engage in any honorable business by which to earn a competence, a man without culture or character, except as a "plug ugly," lives opulently and ostentatiously in England, where he has stables of fast horses and parades the English turf with the fastest sporting set. Nothing could accomplish this but unlimited money; no ordinary fortune would serve such a purpose. Family connections and personal prestige will do much in such cases, but, where only coarse vulgarity and tainted reputation are the personal qualities, reckless expenditures are indispensable. As an example of successful political plunder and brazen absentee dictatorship, there is nothing quite equal to Croker in any other part of the world.

The election which is to take place is a contest, a desperate struggle between the combined forces of civilization and this organization of vice, plunder and political degeneracy. The contest is a peculiar one; unique, even, in some respects. On the one side are arrayed all the decent, progressive, moral and social forces in the community. For the first time in an election of this kind, all these forces are welded for the time being into a harmonious whole. With great unanimity they have chosen as a standard bearer a man conspicuously representing all the elements of a strong, clean, honest, progressive municipal movement. In fact, he may be said to be an ideal candidate for mayor.

On the ticket with Mr. Low for other offices are men of known public spirit, honor, efficiency and integrity. The success of this ticket means a regeneration of the municipal administration of New York city, and with that a beginning of municipal progress throughout the country. Success in this contest really means the elevation of the tone, the political plane, and practical administration of municipal government in the United States.

Tammany recognizes the full value of the stake that is at issue. It knows that the success of the citizens' movement means the death-knell of Crokerism and Deveryism, and the end of opulent revenue from trading in office and the betrayal of public trust. As if to furnish the evidence of Tammany depravity and stir the moral sense of the community to revolt, Devery and the other Croker lieutenants have been unusually careless and brazen in their repulsive and criminal conduct. They have not only punished policemen for doing their duty, but openly rebuked them for failing properly to aid law breakers. And that, too, at the very time when the police department was caught in the act of actively aiding criminals to escape discovery and capture. In short, it became the official spy and agent of criminals. Under these discouraging and demoralizing conditions, the absentee chief found on his return that a dangerous amount of moral indignation had been created against Tammany. He therefore did not dare nominate for mayor a Devery or a Van Wyck or any other natural Tammany candidate, but felt compelled to assume a virtue he never possessed, and nominate a man who is known to the public chiefly for his opposition to Tammany. Mr. Edward M. Shepard was thus selected as a virtuous dummy to save Tammany from the slowly accumulated but consuming wrath of an outraged public.

The real question at issue is not changed in the least by Mr. Shepard's nomination. It is not a contest between Mr. Shepard and Mr. Low, but a struggle between Tammany and decency. Mr. Shepard's candidacy does not so much as change the tint of Tammany's blackness. If there is any change at all, it is in Mr. Shepard. Mr. Low represents the consensus of all that is progressive and decent in the city, and, for that matter, in the country. He represents personal integrity and executive efficiency and education in its highest as well as its broadest and most democratic form. He represents a high standard of intelligent, clean politics, as demonstrated in his own record as mayor of Brooklyn, and he represents war on Tammany and the redemption of New York city from political brigandage.

What does Mr. Shepard represent? Heretofore Mr. Shepard has advocated ideas similar to Mr. Low's. He has never been tested in office, but he has been more intimate with Tammany than Mr. Low ever was. He has belonged to the Tammany party and is therefore supposed to know more about Tammany in its real inside viciousness than Mr. Low or anybody who is on the outside, and, with this knowledge and experience, Mr. Shepard has always warned the people against Tammany. In 1897 he took the stump for Mr. Low, declaring it the duty of all decent citizens, regardless of politics, to vote for Mr. Low, to exterminate Tammany. He then declared that Tammany was beyond redemption, that nobody could touch it without being contaminated; that no man, however good his intentions or clean his character, could change the spots on the Tammany animal; that vice, crime and corruption had become its essential characteristics, and that a decent man in Tammany only helped give a modicum of respectability to an organization and system that were simply loathsome. In effect this is what Mr. Shepard

told us. This is what he has told us for years and years. This is why he has always been found kicking and bolting. Now what has happened? Tammany has not changed; it is even worse to-day than ever before. It is bolder and more insolently defiant in its crime and corruption. Croker is more flaunting with his ill-gotten wealth, with his offensive display at the gambling centers. Devery is more impudent and insolent to honest officers and decent citizens, and as for Van Wyck, he has displayed more vulgar boorishness than has ever before been exhibited by a public official.

This wonderful transformation, therefore, must be in Mr. Shepard. It is the difference between Mr. Shepard the reformer and kicker and Mr. Shepard the Tammany candidate. As reformer and bolter he was at least a clean, earnest advocate for wholesome honest administration. In becoming the Tammany candidate for mayor he has lost that characteristic. He is pretending to do what for years he has proclaimed no man could ever do—be decent under Tammany—represent Tammany without serving Croker. How true his previous estimate and diagnosis of Tammany was is clearly revealed in his own attitude since his nomination. He is not the same man at all. His letter of acceptance was a careful, painstaking study how not to say anything. His speeches are models of evading everything that is essential in the campaign. He does not dare tell the people what he told them in 1897 in advocating the candidacy of Mr. Low. He does not dare tell them what he has been saying for years regarding the conduct and policy of Tammany in the administration, although there is no change except for the worse. He does not dare even to say that he will insist on honest and clean government, and his excuse for not daring to say any of these things is that it is "unconstitutional" to make promises before election. Could there

be anything more unlike the Shepard before nomination than this? Of course no candidate should make private promises to do improper things, but no man knows better than Mr. Shepard that it is essential to popular government that candidates tell the people what they intend to do; what sort of government they intend to establish; what policy they intend to pursue.

How else can they expect the confidence and votes of the citizens? Murphy and Devery and what they represent in the police department are the culmination of official vice. They represent the concentrated nastiness of political depravity, and it is their removal and the election of an administration pledged to the cleaning out of them and their like that the people want. And this Mr. Shepard does not dare to promise. He knows that to make such a promise would defeat him, because in that case Tammany would have no use for him. Therefore, he does not dare to say that he will lay hands on the official criminals in the city administration. To pretend that a promise to the people to clean out this vileness in the administration is "unconstitutional" is silly; it is weak and cowardly. It is a cringing subterfuge which removes the mask from Mr. Shepard. It goes far to establish the charge, frequently made against him by Tammany, that he was only a reformer when he was off the slate, and that the real cure for Mr. Shepard's virtues is an office.

This cowardly, not to say dishonest, attitude of Mr. Shepard shows that nothing of a really vigorous, wholesome character can be expected of him even if he is elected. It shows that he is in training to become obedient to the squire. If he dare not talk on the stump, he will not dare to act if elected. The man who is a coward before the people will be servile in the hands of the boss. If Mr. Shepard was all that he pretended to be and was believed to be when outside the

breastworks, exposing Tammany and advocating Low, there are a hundred reasons why he should not now be elected mayor. If he were as heroic as he is cowardly, as brave as he is cringing, he would still be handicapped by having all the power of Tammany, which he claims to represent, against him. Moreover, if he could actually be trusted really to reform the city government, he would be but veneering Tammany; he would be giving a semblance of respectability to that which should be exterminated, and so help more deeply to entrench Tammany in its hold upon the city. That he cannot be trusted to do even this is clear from his wilting weakness from the moment of his nomination. If Mr. Shepard had been the man he would have the people believe, and really believed that Tammany was essentially vicious, and the only means of getting honest, clean and respectable city government was permanently and forever to eradicate Tammany from the administration; if he had been thoroughly honest in representing this, he would have followed the example of Mr. Hendrix and promptly declined the nomination. But the truth is, this is about the first time Mr. Shepard has had a good sized flesh-pot offered to him, and his virtue collapsed at the sight of it. The man who dares not tell the people that he will cleanse the police department and relieve the city of Murphy and Devery, is either a coward or a Crokerized candidate. It is a sad spectacle that Mr. Shepard should have come to this. But he failed at the first test and therefore ought not, and must not, and unless all signs fail will not, be trusted. The only sure way of relieving the city from the crime and disgrace of Tammany government is to elect the anti-Tammany ticket from top to bottom.

CAUSES OF ANARCHY: SOME FORMER EXPRESSIONS

In the pages of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE and the *Lecture Bulletin of the Institute of Social Economics*, ever since their inception, the social dangers of an inflamed and misinformed public sentiment have been constantly emphasized, and certain of the leading causes pointed out. The vicious propaganda conducted by political demagogues and the sensational press against capital, against the government, against the integrity of our social, industrial and political system in general, has for years been feeding and stimulating a sentiment of social disruption, of which anarchism is but a natural and inevitable phase. Those responsible for this perverted and dangerous sentiment have been largely unconscious that they have been sowing the wind for a harvest of whirlwind, but that does not remove the fact nor modify the continuing menace from the same sources.

These former expressions on the subject lend interest to present discussions of the underlying sources of anarchism, and some of them are herewith reprinted:

Any system of propaganda, for whatever purpose, which tries, through social prejudice, to array the laboring class against the forces which in a single generation have nearly doubled their power to command the benefits of civilization, is a social crime which should receive the anathema of all public-spirited and patriotic citizens. Nothing has contributed so much to this vicious policy, which is gradually undermining the stability of our institutions, as the uneconomic and perverted attack upon trusts and corporate industrial

organizations. "The Anti-Capital Crusade;" GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, November, 1896.

This anti-capital agitation was such a complete confirmation of the doctrines and predictions disseminated by the socialistic propaganda, and had such a large class of respectable leaders, that it made rapid progress among the discontented classes to which it was directed and for the purposes for which it was inaugurated: namely, the election of Mr. Cleveland and the anti-tariff congress and administration. Although it accomplished its object, in doing so it planted the seed and nourished the growth of social distrust and class enmity throughout the country. It carried grist to the socialists' mill in such undreamed of quantities that almost every phase of industrial and social agitation took on the socialistic or anti-capital form. "Meaning of Bryanism in American Politics;" GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, December, 1896.

One of the most dangerous elements of public sentiment in this country is the growing hostility to capital. The social atmosphere appears to be surcharged with what might almost be termed economic malignity towards every form of aggregated capital. Although it is universally admitted that capital is necessary to industrial development and national prosperity, there is a growing presumption that the capitalist is a dangerous person. Much of this feeling, for feeling it is, has been created by the demagogical attitude of the press towards trusts. So much has been said against trusts that everybody feels at liberty to denounce them as an un-mixed evil on general principles, regardless of any specific facts. Indeed, the impulse to treat trusts as public evils, regardless of what they do, has become a state of mind almost amounting to superstition. "The Anti-Capital Crusade;" GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, November, 1896.

If we insist upon poisoning the mind of every laborer with the notion that the whole social fabric is constructed to rob him, if we insist that the farmer shall believe that every railroad and every large industry is constructed to fleece him, if we are to make the common people believe that every public official only desires to plunder the public treasury and in some way get a fat office for nothing, and so charge every phase of our institutions with dishonesty and falsehood, we cannot expect anything but disruption. We cannot hope for improvement in the purity of our politics, without faith; faith in the institutions, faith in the people, faith in the integrity of the employing and general business class of the community. We can never deal fairly and freely and with the best efforts and best intentions with robbers. We must always have a bowie knife or a revolver or something in reserve for a thief, but the people having faith in the integrity of our employing class, of our public men, we can appeal at once to them to deal with the questions as plain, social questions; with the wages question as a wages question, with the tariff question as a tariff question, with the money question as a money question, and in the faith that in so dealing with these questions there will be integrity and not everlasting chicanery in the handling of them. I say, therefore, that we need a greater faith in our common political, social and industrial integrity, and that this is necessary before the United States can have or be entitled to the respect from other nations that her position in civilization ought to command. "Why Foreigners Sneer at Us;" *Guntton Institute Bulletin*, November 27th, 1897.

Within the last two years a book of five hundred pages has been published by one of the most responsible houses in this town, and in this country, which was made up of practically nothing but misrepresentations and abuse of American business institutions, and I

understand it has a very wide circulation. This prevails to such an extent that one comes to believe (and very naturally) that the average American public man is a corruptionist and an incompetent lobbyist, a shallow fellow, with neither conscience, foresight nor intellectual capacity. If he is able at all, it is shown at once that he has turned his ability to making money. Mr. Blaine was hounded to death by that sort of warfare, as well as other public men whom I shall not attempt to name now, because that is not my purpose. My purpose is to call attention to what we do regarding the subject. It is not peculiar to any one party, but to all parties. If the other fellow is in, his opponents must blackguard him. If the democrats are in, of course there are no righteous among them, no, not one, and if the republicans are in, of course they are corruptionists and robbers of the workingman and so on. Now this is not merely partisan, but it has become general, and almost national,—so much so that when foreigners take up our newspapers and magazines, even the *Forum* and *North American Review*, to say nothing of the *Arena*, they will find ordinarily respectable names appended to articles showing that we are generally immoral and untrustworthy in some line or other. They get our literature and say, "From your own mouths do we judge you; you are constantly telling us that your business men are dishonest, your public men corrupt, your politicians impure, and that your democracy is a humbug. You are constantly telling us this, and we cannot find anything to the contrary." "Why Foreigners Sneer at Us;" *Gunton Institute Bulletin*, November 27th, 1897.

What he [Macaulay] said in comparing English and American institutions is very significant. It must be remembered that Macaulay wrote this before the second reform bill was adopted and when the government in

England rested on a very limited suffrage. He said: With us the government rests on a limited property class; with you the discontented are the governors. In reality this expresses the hopeful, optimistic and truly glorious element in our institutions, viz.: that our political fabric rests upon the people—yea, the discontented. But it also contains the ominous fact that if the people, if the discontented, if the millions to whom every political demagogue will make his lowest appeal, are not educated, are not informed, are not prosperous, are not grounded in confidence in the wisdom and superiority of our institutions, then we are exposed to all the dangers of revolution, and the worst may come. "Need of Political Education;" *Gunton Institute Bulletin*, September 24th, 1898.

In this country, however, we have developed a type of journals which are not newspapers, but scandal mongers. Instead of informing the public of occurrences in the community that are of legitimate public concern, and commenting upon them editorially so as to aid in creating an intelligent public opinion regarding them, the object seems to be rather to appeal to the lowest passions and inflame a feeling of enmity, suspicion and distrust, arraying every class in the community against every other, particularly the laborers against the well-to-do. There are more people who will give a cent for twelve pages of scandal, abuse, caricature and venal misrepresentation than will give two cents for clean, wholesome news and an intelligent discussion of public affairs. Consequently, the representative papers of this new journalism have become little more than scurrilous sheets filled with slander and abuse of almost anything reputable and useful in society. No public man can expect measurably fair treatment at their hands, unless perchance he is able to purchase their good will by paid "write-ups" or a liberal expenditure

in the advertising columns. Nearly every public man is traduced, lampooned, and directly or indirectly charged with dishonesty and corruption, whenever the sensational purpose of these journals can be served by so doing.

In the discussions of economic questions this scandalous feature of journalism runs riot. They appeal to the suspicions, passions and ignorance of the laborers by constantly practicing their art of vilification upon rich men or conspicuously successful corporations. With the growth of socialism, populism, and anti-wealth sentiment, this class of journals has directed its most venomous arrows toward a few of the most successful corporations which they are unable to bleed through the advertising departments." "Disreputable Journalism;" GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, November, 1898.

In no country is the intelligent understanding of liberty, its character and conditions, the influences which repress and which promote it, more important than in this country, because here everything depends on the common knowledge. We have here no recognized consensus on the subject. There is no *ex cathedra* authority. Whatever progress there is must be by and through the efforts, more or less conscious, of the mass of the people. To mistake the meaning and character of liberty may be fatal to our safety. If our destinies were in the hands of a few responsible leaders, then the task would devolve upon them and the responsibility would be theirs. But with us no such class exists. We rest everything on the broad democratic basis. It is the people or nothing. If the people are informed and intelligent and wise, then our rapid progress is assured. If the people are ignorant, misguided, pugnacious and rash, progress is in jeopardy. "Liberty and License;" *Lecture Bulletin*, December 9th, 1899.

No serious American could listen to Mr. Bryan's

Madison Square address, noting the insinuating, subtle emphasis placed on every point that could be expected to rouse the spirit of bitterness, watching furthermore the quick and enthusiastic response of the audience to these sallies, without a feeling of profound apprehension. Whether defeated or elected, the influence of this man has had already a demoralizing influence on the character of public opinion in this country. Relying on the prestige of his oratory and great prominence, and assisted by an army of cheap demagogues of the sort who take their cue from any new popular leader, he is, by ingenious misrepresentation of industrial conditions and tendencies, rapidly stirring up an amount and extent of suspicion, distrust and social antagonism that probably never before has been approached in our national history. He is doing this, recklessly unmindful of the fact that to divide an organized society into hostile classes and widen the gulf between them is the surest road to the very "imperialism" Mr. Bryan pretends to denounce.

This is the universal experience and testimony of history. To encourage and stimulate these splitting-up tendencies is more dangerous to the cause of human freedom and progress than would be a deliberate attempt by the president to overthrow the constitution and make himself emperor. Any such wild undertaking could only momentarily disturb the surface of affairs; it would fail utterly and the nation go forward as before. But, to rend a community into antagonistic groups is to strike at the very basis of government and of orderly social progress, undermining the whole complex structure of organized human cooperation, fashioned and fitted together all down through the centuries by the painful toil and hard experience of nations and races of men. "Review of the Month," GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, November, 1900.

HUMAN WASTE OF A GREAT CITY

WALTER L. HAWLEY

In the mill, the mine, the factory—in all mechanism for creation and construction, there is a percentage of waste, which means loss in the general economy of the business. One of the chief purposes of engineering skill, scientific knowledge and inventive genius, as the three are applied in practical affairs, is to reduce this waste, the loss of raw material in process of manufacture, to a minimum. In almost every case the percentage of profit upon investment is very largely determined by the extent of the reduction of waste.

In every great city—and cities are giant mills with humanity for raw material, yielding product of mental and material progress—there is a percentage of waste—of loss that may be reduced, but whatever is marred by defective machinery cannot be replaced. This loss is a loss of flesh and blood, of brain and brawn, and the vast machinery, that is a city, moves fast or slow as the percentage of waste is low or high.

Concealed behind obscure items in municipal budgets, or half revealed in the light of special reports and investigations, there is in every great city a steady drain into the black abyss of decay from this stream of human waste that by the same process exhausts and pollutes the fountain of vitality. The budget items that mark the source and progress of the waste are labeled “public charity.” The reports—mere masses of plausible excuses that conceal the danger and minimize the evil—are the records of mistaken philanthropy, the self-praising history of well meant private charity, often ill-advised, almost always unfortunate in results.

The saddest and most serious feature of the record

of human waste in a great city is that this waste is not of the old, the worn or battered units in the mass of humanity, but of the young, whose brains and hands should in another generation be added dividends of mental and material progress. There has grown up in every great American city a combined system of public and private charity which undertakes to provide food and shelter, guardianship and some measure of mental, moral and religious training for homeless children and for other children who, in the judgment of some person or power, will be better off if removed from such homes as they have. The humane intention back of this system is beyond question or criticism, but the system itself is growing into a fad and a folly that is steadily swelling the stream of human waste, crushing vitality and ambition out of the atoms that are to make a considerable portion of the progress or decay of the future.

It is entirely proper for a municipality to join hands with private charity to rescue the flotsam of infant humanity in danger of total destruction by the on-rushing forces of life, struggling always for advantage in a great city, but the burden of that duty once assumed should not be put aside at the doors of walled institutions that are the tombs of human independence of thought and action. The operation of the present system is very simple and the magic in the name of charity hides the evil of it from the public. Children of all ages who, properly, or by trick and deception, enter the class of paupers or public charges, are gathered by private or public agencies and then by order of a court or through other prescribed legal form they are placed in some private or semi-private institution, called usually a "home" or "asylum." There they are maintained for a term of years. The cost of their maintenance is paid in part by the municipality and in part by private charity. The proportion of the charge paid

by the taxpayers varies in different cities. In New York it is high, in many cases the entire cost, while in Boston, Philadelphia and many other cities the greater share of the expense is borne by private individuals. These institutions are almost invariably owned and controlled by private societies or religious orders. With the actual management of the children committed to them, the mental, physical and religious training of the inmates, the civil authorities have nothing to do.

This system is so simple and seems so perfect, the moral character of such institutions, as a rule, so high, that the state has been quite content with a casual inspection to see that its wards were properly fed and clothed. It is quite satisfactory to civil pride and civil authority in the great cities to feel that no child can long remain hungry or homeless, and municipal statesmanship, satisfied with its philanthropy and charity, does not turn aside from problems of politics long enough to ask, "What is the future of those children?" But the time is coming when that question must be asked and answered. The drain upon the fountain of youth and vitality, the swelling stream of human waste, cannot be permitted to go on forever.

Neither criticism nor condemnation of the institutions referred to is intended, in fact the majority of them are worthy of praise. They are the best solution, or rather the safest compromise with the greater problem of human reclamation, that has yet been devised, but their success should be accepted as a guarantee that something better can be done. The evil of the system is, stated briefly and bluntly, that children reared in such institutions are thereby unfitted for intelligent or useful citizenship. There may be isolated exceptions, of course, but the great mass of the children coming out of these homes and asylums at the average age of sixteen years are unfit, mentally and physically, to be-

come good citizens or to serve any useful purpose in life. The great problem of the system is, "How long can civilization go on subsidizing its own decay?"

This well-meant attempt at saving the flotsam of youthful humanity in great cities is new, and also peculiar to American municipalities. It has unquestionably been a long step forward towards a correct solution of the sad and serious problem. Not so long ago there were only two places open to the infant waif of the street, the almshouse and potter's field. In the first place he was an unwelcome and expensive problem; in the other, an atom of dust crushed under the heel of selfish and sordid material progress, where the triumph of the strong was called the march of civilization. The success, so called, of the splendid institutions that have grown up under this system, and the great work for mental, moral and physical salvation accomplished by the many noble men and women who have cheerfully devoted their lives to the task, are merely convincing witnesses that the great problem can and will be solved.

No intelligent constructive statesmanship will attempt to defend the proposition that a state or a municipality could go on forever taking even a small percentage of its child population from year to year, rearing and educating that percentage only to turn out in the end paupers, thieves, fallen women, physical weaklings and parasites on progress and industry. That is exactly what the large cities of America are doing through the present system of crowding dependent children into semi-public institutions to grow like weeds in the shadow of dead walls, and walk drooping and dwarfed, with halting steps from the cradle to the grave.

It may be said by those who would defend the present condition, rather than seek to improve it, that

there are not enough of these children ever to exercise any appreciable influence on society at large. There are to-day more than 20,000 of them in the institutions of New York city alone. That is the average daily census and the number is increasing. A stream of human waste pouring into society at the rate of 20,000 a year, youths of both sexes who are unfit to take up the struggle of life, may in time threaten the foundations of law and order. It is no fictitious problem and it is one that must be solved.

The sweeping charge that the mass of children reared in these institutions are incapable of becoming good citizens may call forth angry and violent protest and denial. The charge is not intended to reflect upon the good women and men who give their lives to the work of such homes. They are doing the best they can, and it is not their fault that the children leaving the institutions have no ambition and are ignorant of that practical knowledge of the world without which they cannot hope to succeed in the fierce struggle for existence. The fault is with the system, not with those who administer it.

The life, the routine, the discipline in such places, no matter how well regulated, will quickly destroy all trace of originality in a child. The regular tramp of marching in file or column is not the step of independence. The clang of a gong, the ringing of a bell, is not the music that stirs the heart and quickens the pulse beats. At best the children so crowded together and dulled become mere human machines. They cease to think for themselves and act only at the word of command. Where everything is done by machinery, and the reason for it all is never explained, the spirit of self-reliance dies in the child from inaction. The average of the moral tone of the inmates will quickly sink to the level of the worst child. Knowledge of

secret and dangerous vices will spread through classes as quickly as water sinks through shifting sands.

In the city of New York physicians are finding a rapid increase in youthful insanity, and early deaths due to vices or habits acquired by boys and girls in semi-public institutions. Persons and societies interested in the work of these homes and asylums provide for the public abundant reports of special cases where boys and girls sent to farms in the West, or provided with homes and employment elsewhere, have grown into respectable and probably useful men and women. But the other side of the record has not been so well kept. Yet it might serve a purpose, more useful in the end, if the public and municipal officers could be provided with exact figures showing the death rate, the percentage of criminals, drunkards, permanent paupers and the spread of evil influences among the entire output of these institutions. There is abundant evidence that such a record would show a condition alarming, if not appalling.

Of course it is true that the children sent to these institutions come chiefly from the lower classes of society. Some of them may inherit weak minds and bodies as well as criminal instincts, but in such cases the wise policy of reclamation would be to place them in an environment where such inherited imperfections might be overcome, not where the very nature of the surroundings tend to develop such tendencies. Four walls and a roof do not make a home, and a poor home is better for a child than a life regulated by time bells and fed by machinery. The family is the unit of civilization, and the state should preserve it rather than destroy it. Homes and families should never, except in extraordinary cases of cruelty or neglect, be broken up to feed orphan asylums and children's "homes," and through them the stream of human waste.

The remedy for the present deplorable system is simple, but at the outset it must in some cases be applied with force and without sentiment. The first step for the municipality is to put in motion strong and effective machinery for keeping children out of institutions instead of helping them to get in. Let some sunlight and fresh air into the homes of the poor and the dark tenement quarters. Take a map of the city of New York or any other large city and dot the localities from which come the pauper, orphaned and abandoned children that now feed the stream of human waste, and the sunless, unsanitary tenement quarters would quickly be blackened over, while few spots would appear where there is plenty of light and pure air.

Well-meaning but misguided persons who are always willing to take children from their parents should be restrained with a firm hand. Among the very poor and ignorant in foreign countries there is a widespread belief that if they can get to America they will not have to support their children. The city of New York has been in the past greatly imposed on by foreign born residents who would deliberately abandon their children to public care. The matter has been to some extent regulated, but even now many parents who are able to care for their offspring seek again and again to have them placed in public or private institutions. In some cases the managers of private or semi-private charity have been imposed upon and apparently made no great effort to prevent the fraud.

When the municipality is compelled to provide for the maintenance as well as the education of children, it should certainly have the power and ought to possess the wisdom to make them good citizens, strong and intelligent, independent and patriotic. There can be no other reward, no greater return upon the investment. It is better humanity, better economic policy

and better politics to pay a little more and make good citizens and useful ones of public charges than to evade a part of the responsibility and by so doing swell the ranks of the criminal, the vicious, the idle, and the mental and physical wrecks. The city cannot and should not attempt to substitute another kind of institution, but in many cases by drastic measures, or judicious aid, it could preserve homes, save parents and children together, making both better citizens in the end.

The exacting conditions of life in a large city make it hard for the weak. Strong arms and active brains are the instruments of individual success and collective progress. The weak and the idle will be pushed aside or trampled under foot. The strong and active alone survive. It is the law of nature working in a crowded court room. There will always be weaklings and failures, the collection forming a mass of human waste that must be carried as a burden by those who are strong. But mistaken charity and faulty statesmanship should not go on forever, adding every year hundreds or thousands of children and youth to that burden. No great municipality can go on indefinitely, carelessly, or negligently, tapping the fountain of youth for human vitality to swell the wasting streams of social decay.

TWO DAYS IN TWO PARLIAMENTS*

J. S. CRAWFORD

II.

I was in London when the new imperial parliament—elected last October—met the first time. It was the first week in December and everybody at the clubs, hotels, alehouses and other public places steadily talked about the opening. It appears that this formality is very attractive to an Englishman, and I soon found that all have a keen relish for public affairs. There had just been an exciting campaign. The South African policy of the ministry had been attacked. The strongest leaders of the liberal party had been returned to parliamentary seats, and the minority might be perilous to the Salisbury government. In addition to this a Canadian regiment was in London en route home from the Transvaal. A special service for these riflemen was rendered in Westminster Abbey and the colonial troops were highly praised from the pulpit in St. Paul's. Moreover, these troops were received with royal sanctions and tendered public honors on every hand. The presence of soldiers always intensifies a dramatic situation. A distant war, debatable in its origin and mysterious in its conduct, attracting the critical attention of the whole world, was involved. Now, who would be speaker of the house of commons? What would be the tenor of the queen's speech? Who would the opposition advance to lead in the debate? How would the government meet the issues framed by an aggressive opposition?—questions always interesting, perhaps never more so than at the opening of this extra session of a new parliament.

* Concluded from the October number of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE.

I had no difficulty in getting a ticket of admission. These tickets are furnished by our ambassador resident in London, though he is reluctant about giving out more than two for any one day.

The river Thames flows through the City of London from west to east. After it has gone about one-third of its general course through the city it makes a bold sweep to the north. Abutting on the west bank of this curve in the river is the borough of Westminster. This borough contains a population of perhaps 60,000. Its most historic building is the Abbey. St. Paul's Cathedral is further to the east. To distinguish these two great churches in a geographic way, one is called Westminster and the other Eastminster. Not far from Westminster Abbey is Buckingham Palace, which belongs to the crown. Nearby is Marlborough House, in which lived the Prince of Wales until he ascended the throne as Edward VII. Close by, too, is the mansion of the Duke of York and the homes of other princes of the blood. Besides this crown property there are the mansions of many English nobles in Westminster, and among them is the house of the Duke of Marlborough, who married Consuelo Vanderbilt. Then there is Green Park, St. James Park, Charing Cross, Summerset House, Wellington Barracks, Scotland Yard, the Whitehall banqueting house, in which Charles the First was beheaded, and Trafalgar Square, in which stands a noble monument to a noble man, the one-armed Nelson. Along the tidal river is the Thames embankment, that finest driveway of all England, and here too may be seen another of Cleopatra's needles. The topography of this borough is indeed beautiful. The soil is rich and the grass grows luxuriantly, while lawn-trees looking dark and green, perhaps a little somber, but making a regional aspect in perfect keeping with this serene and sober part of London.

Parliament meets in what is called the Palace of Westminster. This palace is a rectangle 300 feet wide by 900 feet long. It stands on that section of the river which flows to the north and one side wall appears to rise out of the water. However, it does not, for here is where members of parliament give their celebrated teas on the terrace, and from which they must make the run in two minutes to their chamber when electrical bells all over the palace announce a call to vote. The corner stone was laid in 1840, and the structure cost \$20,000,000. It contains 1,000 apartments, 100 stairways and two miles of hallway. At the south end is the royal entrance surmounted by a broad square tower 340 feet high; at the north end is the clock tower, in which is Big Ben, a clock which strikes the hours on a bell weighing eight tons, and I was told that the dials are thirty feet across. There is a tower at each corner, a central tower and a large number of spires rising from the sidewalls. The roof is so nearly flat that it can hardly be seen from the ground. This building appears to be three stories high and its general aspect is simple, massive, noble and majestic. I was told that the stone was brought from Yorkshire, and much to the regret of Englishmen is decaying, so that the outer decoration is losing its sharp and well-defined character. Westminster Abbey stands to the west, a few hundred yards from the river. Its elevations harmonize with that of the parliament house though its longitudinal line runs in the opposite direction.

The entrance to either house of parliament is at the middle of the west side. You pass Westminster Hall to the left with its wonderful roof-plan executed in wood. You go through St. Stephen's Hall, once used as the house of commons, in which are now twelve white marbles of English statesmen, the best statues I

ever saw. I lingered before Burke and Chatham, the great parliamentary leaders of another day and wondered if the time would come when a pilgrim from the Transvaal would loiter in front of a chiseled monument to Rosebery or Labouchere, feeling in his heart the same thoughts I felt. From St. Stephen's Hall you pass to central hall, which is under the central tower of the great building. This is the lobby of both houses of parliament. To the left or north is the corridor to the house of commons, to the right is the corridor to the house of lords, both running the long way of the building. The house of commons meets usually at 3:45 o'clock, and the house of lords at 5 o'clock. Both adjourn at 12 midnight.

I was early, and finding a seat in the lobby soon became interested in watching the peers of the realm and the members of the other house passing about saluting their friends out of the committee rooms and arranging for the great debate. I was impressed with the sober earnestness and matter-of-fact way of these British law-makers. All wore snow white linen, black ties, long top-coats, newly ironed tile hats, thick soled and highly polished boots. Every one carried a silk umbrella. The only exception to all of this was Mr. Keir Hardie, an independent member elected from a Wales borough; he wore a soft shirt with a flaming red tie and a soft hat. These members of parliament are a tall, rotund, robust lot of men, self-contained, with a sort of reserved, pugnacious air which bespeaks a consciousness of superiority. They have square jaws and full cheeks, while surprising little tufts of whiskers are not rare. I was surprised at the large number of young men among them. But the young men lack the character face of British statesmen. It takes years to develop that Scotch or English type of face so pronounced, realistic and unforgettable. I was surprised

to see how nearly the Irish peer resembles the British nobleman. Then, too, the dialects of these men interested me. Some of them were as difficult to understand as Frenchmen. The Cornishman, always in dead earnest and always oblivious to his own humor, is irresistible.

As I sat in the house of lords waiting for the opening ceremonial, imagine my surprise to find that under my very eyes it had been open ten minutes and was awaiting the "order of the day." There sat the peers with their hats on and there was their lord chancellor seated on the wool-sack. All it requires to open the house of lords is the presence of three peers and the chancellor. A sergeant-at-arms places the mace on the table. The mace is a rod of gold no less than four feet in length, massive and opulent. If a bishop is present he kneels and offers prayer. But there is no ceremony, no journal is read, no motion is made; there is not even the sound of a gavel, and heads are not uncovered.

The usher who carries orders from the peers to the commons is called the gentleman usher of the black rod, and never was a bandmaster more pompously uniformed than black rod. His bear-skin cap is at least two feet high and he carries a long sword. The day I was there, December 6, he summoned the commons to appear at the bar of the house of lords and hear the queen's speech. Presently that great body of gentlemen appeared—it was then that I discovered that the house of lords had been opened in ample form. In the meantime the lord chancellor had vacated his seat on the wool-sack and with four other lord commissioners took his place on a bench in front of the throne. The Duke of Marlborough was one of these commissioners. The lord chancellor without a single introductory remark then read Her Majesty's most gracious speech:

“My Lords and Gentlemen: It has become necessary to make further provisions for the expense incurred by the operation of my armies in South Africa and China. I have summoned you to hold a special session in order that you may give your sanction to the enactment required for this purpose. I will not enter upon any other public matters requiring your attention until the ordinary meeting of parliament in the spring.”

The Earl of Lathom, in the full uniform of the royal horse guards, then moved a reply thanking the queen for her speech. A deputy lieutenant in uniform then seconded this motion and it was before the house without even a statement from the chair. The lord chancellor then resumed the wool-sack, and the debate began at once. Lord Kimberly rose on the liberal side and in the most courteous and diplomatic language discussed the policy of the government in dissolving parliament, sending out commissions for a new election, and for its severity in conducting the South African war. The manner of the noble earl was composed and dignified, while his voice was soft and his delivery conversational and serene. In the meantime the Prince of Wales and the Duke of York came in and subscribed to the oath. Then the Marquis of Salisbury took the floor and began his reply. His language was as elegant as an essay, and his delivery very mild, with now and then a suggestion of banter. But I was surprised at his composure and dispassionate manner. He certainly is a man of literary accomplishment. He shrewdly appropriated the ground and concessions of Lord Kimberly and finally made it appear that the issue between them had vanished.

Lord Rosebery is a different kind of man. His style is much like the better class of American congressmen. His voice rises and falls with his periods,

and has the inflection of a trained elocutionist. He is alert and quick to discover a weakness in his opponent. His language is voluble, precise and bookish. But there is a suggestion of comedy in what he says, and a lack of seriousness in the way he says it. You feel that he is thinking of the gallery. You feel, too, that he had the gallery in mind when he arranged his precise dress and directed the barber how to cut that smart suggestion of a Piccadilly whisker. I regard Earl Rosebery as the greatest leader of the liberals in the house of lords; he is subtle, clever, eloquent, plausible and persuasive. He certainly comes near filling the public eye. Yet he is no match for Salisbury, premier and head of the conservative government. Lord Salisbury deals with hard facts in a plain way, masterful, earnest and reliant. Rosebery toys with your heart. Salisbury appeals to your head, and in the long run the intellect must control the emotion. When the debate was all over I admired Rosebery, respected Salisbury. Both are great men—Rosebery great in knowing *how*, Salisbury greater in knowing *what* to do. Then the debate closed for the day with a careful speech from the Duke of Devonshire. It is a custom of the house of lords when the chancellor so wills to repair to the dining-room for a chop—of course it is a mutton chop. All this is done with no formality or motion; the lord chancellor simply walks out and the house is at ease.

The debate on the queen's speech was opened in the house of commons by Labouchere, an old member from Northampton, and a distinguished leader on the liberal side. He went over the whole ground of the opposition: The time of the dissolution, the time of the election, the conduct of the campaign, the burning of farms in the Transvaal, and the failure of the government to announce a liberal policy in South Africa.

Following Labouchere, Mr. Emmott, a young lib-

eral from Oldham, moved to amend the reply to the queen's speech by inserting a declaration of policy toward the Boers. This was approved in an eloquent and brilliant speech by another young liberal, Mr. Trevelyan of York. These three speakers seemed to exhaust the argument of the liberals. That whole side was animated, aggressive and confident. Every seat in the house was full. There sat the distinguished Sir William Vernon Harcourt; on the same bench with him were Henry Campbell-Bannerman, John Morley, John Burns, Keir Hardie and Mr. Asquith, every one anxious to reinforce what had been said and amplify the argument. There too was Michael Hicks Beach, while Arthur Balfour, one of the brightest men in the cabinet, sat with him on the treasury bench.

It was a critical moment for the government. The colonial secretary, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain, arose to reply. He is a small man with light hair and nearly smooth face; he is, in dress and demeanor, not unlike a thrifty New England merchant. The great house grew still. All eyes centered on the speaker. All minds wondered how he would meet the vast accumulation of facts and arguments collected, arranged and marshalled by the opposition. He spoke low and never smiled. He denied nothing. He evaded nothing. He analyzed everything. As he proceeded he showed in what the two sides agreed. As is always the case this eliminated a major part of the controverted ground and simplified the remainder. Next he admitted that there was room for a difference of opinion on some of the questions put in issue. Finally on the real essentials of the debate so vast was the information he presented and so varied were the arguments which he adduced that the opposition was overwhelmed. He closed with these words:

"Our view is that there must be three stages—the

pacification, I will not say the absolute and complete pacification, but a much greater pacification of the country than has yet taken place; then must come crown colony government, which really means civil as opposed to military administration; and only after that has been tried can self-government be adopted.

"In further pursuance of this policy we lay it down as our duty, wherever we can with safety to the states and with proper consideration to the population, to appoint natives to all posts in the administration.

"We recognize, as far as the great majority of the Boers are concerned, that they have carried on war with great distinction, and have shown the greatest consideration for the wounded and prisoners who have fallen into their hands. (Opposition cheers.) There have been exceptions. I do not want to dwell upon them, but, speaking of the great mass, we do not at all complain of the way in which they have carried on this war. They are brave foes, and they should be treated as brave foes; and it is in that spirit that we should treat with them."

Following this speech of Mr. Chamberlain Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman, the most aggressive liberal in the house, arose, and in the course of a powerful speech said: "If my honorable friends are willing to withdraw the amendment I shall be very glad if the house will permit them to do so."

Chamberlain had been cool. He had waited just long enough. By his tactics the argument of the opposition was disclosed. His rejoinder and the attack of the opposition went to the country together in the same newspapers. He had official information with which to meet this attack. He did meet it. The amendment was withdrawn—the colonial secretary stood, that night, the master of parliament.

Proceedings in our American and state legislative

bodies are recorded in such a way as to disclose to a remarkable degree the individual record of members. Neither the British parliament nor the French chamber of deputies demand a call of the *ayes* and *noes* on so many questions as the American congress. In the British parliament when the house divides on a proposition those members who form the affirmative pass into a chamber on the right, and those who form the negative pass into a similar chamber on the left. Tellers with printed lists check off the names of voters and report the footings to the speaker. A motion in the house of lords requires no second. When the vote is taken *viva voce* the affirmative cries *content*, the negative, *non content*.

In the French chamber the question is taken by ballot, the color of the ticket indicates the choice of the voter. Proxies vote for absent members. These ballots are collected in large silver vases and are canvassed by half a dozen clerks, who soon report to the president. Nor do I understand that members of parliament or the French deputies habitually resort to dilatory tactics and filibustering. They employ about the same privileged questions that we do, though the adoption of the "previous question" operates to kill a measure and to "pass to the order of the day" has the effect of an "indefinite postponement." "Closure," of which we heard so much in connection with the recent refusal of Irish members to retire to the voting chambers, is a summary proceeding to close debate, bring the issue to a vote and report the result of the vote to the house as soon as the speaker resumes the chair and the committee of the whole is dissolved. Members of both these foreign legislative bodies enjoy about the same personal privileges as members of congress; that is, freedom from arrest, immunity from question in debate, etc. Members of parliament serve without pay,

though the speaker of the house of commons gets a large salary. This seat is now filled by Mr. Gully of Carlisle. I was surprised to know that before the question was taken on a motion, he once at least answered the direct inquiry as to what his ruling would be in a certain contingency. I never knew that to be done in a deliberative assembly in the United States. The lord chancellor I think is associated with Lord Chief Justice Alverson. Each of these presiding officers wears a peer's robe and a full bottomed gray wig. Steel pens and blotting-pads are not used in either house of parliament, but quills and drying-powders conspire to maintain the ancient dignities.

Speakers of both houses of parliament are liberally cheered by cries of "hear! hear!" In the chamber of deputies applause is expressed by the words "bravo, bravo!" French legislators are quick and demonstrative. They move around a great deal. Every time they meet they salute each other and they shake hands frequently. They bow and make their adieux with great dignity and inborn courtesy. English law-makers on the other hand sit quietly on the benches absorbed in thought, paying little attention to what is going on around them. In both parliaments all members have the right to introduce bills by leave, but the calendars do not show so large a volume of attempted legislation as comes before congress. A bill on its passage takes a course similar to that in American legislative bodies.

In the house of lords there are 468 members, in the commons, 670 members. Excluding lords temporal and lords spiritual, there are two classes of the former, peers of the realm and lords of parliament. The first class inherit their seats, the second class are appointed by the crown. The house of lords still retains its judicial prerogatives. The commons are elected for a term

of seven years. The electors have no property qualification. When parliament is dissolved by order of the crown, or when its term expires, a royal commission directs the election of a new house of commons. To get candidates in the field there is no party caucus or nomination, simply a certificate signed by ten electors and filed with the sheriff of the borough. Within limits the sheriff fixes the date of the election so that it may vary a week in the different boroughs throughout the country. Candidates take the stump and the speaking part of a campaign is similar to ours, though the lords are not expected to participate. A candidate is allowed to do no treating and must file a detailed statement of his campaign expenses. The sheriff and appointed officers oversee the election and the canvass of the votes, and they make up the returns. The sheriff issues the certificate of election.

The chambers in which these two great wings of the imperial parliament meet are much alike. The house of lords is 100 feet long, the house of commons is a little less. Each is 45 feet wide, and I suppose the ceilings are 50 feet from the floor. Half way up is a narrow sectional gallery running entirely around the chamber. Part of this gallery is for strangers, part for prominent visitors and part for newspaper reporters. Still higher up at one end of the house of commons is a gallery with a wire screen in front. Etiquette will not allow ladies to enter the chamber when the commons are in session, but they may view proceedings through this wire screen. The lords are not so shabby in the treatment of women, for they admit them to the peers' gallery and even to the floor the day on which the queen's speech is read. I regarded myself as lucky to be there that day, when the long gallery rapidly filled with the royal ladies of England, clad in scarlet and purple; and when the wives and daughters of the

aristocrats of this great nation were ushered to seats on the floor of the house—a privilege prized by the nobles and gentry above all other distinctions.

In both houses the members sit on benches heavily upholstered with leather on the seat and back. There are no individual desks for writing. These seats are in rows along each side and across the end opposite the presiding officer. There are five rows of these benches at each side. They face each other and rise like the seats in an amphitheater. On the right the benches are occupied by the adherents of the government. On the left sit the opposition. At the end, or “under the gangway,” sit the independents. On the space between the two opposing sides are the tables of the clerks. New members are expected to take the upper seats, and as they advance in parliamentary experience they advance toward the front. In consequence of this custom the government ministers occupy the front row on the right. In the commons this is called the treasury bench. If their policy should not be sustained by the electors they are expected to resign and a prominent member of the opposition will be requested by the crown to form a new ministry. It is in this way the electors rule the government through the house of commons. Both chambers are dark, heavy, rich and impressive in their appointments. They are lighted artificially through glass ceilings. Both houses are opulent in colored glass, heavy panels, statues and historic frescoes. The balustrade which defines the gallery is extremely elaborate and rich in antique designs. The carpets, draperies and upholsteries in the house of commons are dark; in the house of lords they are scarlet—this is to signify royalty. Indeed, the house of lords is a throne room, and here, too, is the celebrated wool-sack.

The throne is at the south end of the house of

lords and is on a platform defined by three steps. The throne is a great chair with arms and a high back finished with gothic arch and dentates. The frame work seems to be carved oak, while the upholstery is scarlet trimmed with gold. On either side is a chair for the attendants of the crown. In front of the throne are two bronze columns which support beautiful chandeliers. It was from this throne that Edward VII. read his speech to parliament. Many years had elapsed since king, lords and commons had met in such an exalted assembly. The royal crowns of England are kept in Wakefield tower in the Tower of London. It is interesting to know that among the many newspaper articles recently published in this country concerning the Prince of Wales there were cuts of the prince's crown. All these cuts showed a rich embellishment of gems and jewels. The truth is that the prince's crown is plain and without a single gem.

Just in front of the throne is the wool-sack. I was interested in this ancient and honorable seat of the lord chancellors. At the time of Queen Elizabeth parliament passed an act inhibiting the exportation of wool, an offense called "owling." This is a stage of protection which the United States never reached, and it marks the beginning of English supremacy in the industrial arts. The wool-sack commemorates this policy. It is a bag of wool with a flat top, about eight feet square, covered with a red cloth, on which the lord chancellor sits while presiding over the deliberations of the house of lords. It has neither back nor arms, and is so high that the feet of the distinguished officer scarcely touch the floor.

THE PRACTICAL SIDE OF LITERATURE

LEON MEAD

The past twenty years or more have been pre-eminently a transitional epoch, though we are still far away from the settled standards into which ultimately our purely national literature will be moulded. The commercial spirit of the age has been so dominant as to overshadow all forms of art. Genuine culture has not been pursued for its own sake among the masses, nor for the intrinsic pleasure of its quest, such as is felt in an inferior physical way by the hunter who chases his quarry to cover.

But it is not the less evident that with the spread of education our creative literature has kept more than an even pace; it has kept in advance. With accurate and shrewd discernment, Mr. Edmund Clarence Stedman has pointed out some of the many restrictions by which our colonial writers were hampered. The intellectual output of that period was principally confined to political themes and topics concerning the formation of the republic.

This distinguished critic reminds us that the earliest efforts in literature on this side of the Atlantic did not emanate from a savage or barbarous people, but rather from colonists, who left an old-world civilization, and who were more or less familiar with the literature of the mother country. They were too much occupied with the struggle for existence, with the making of homes and the development of a government, to accomplish anything notable in intellectual creation. They had no national retrospect or perspective; nor could they calmly appreciate the glamour of romance that surrounded the North American Indian, whom circum-

stances compelled them to fight to the death. In short, they were engaged in making history, not in writing it.

In subsequent martial times the poetic spirit was not assertive. It is almost a cause for surprise that any descendants of certain of the first settlers in America should have blossomed into celebrated poets. The Puritan stock was averse to nearly all poetry, save the Psalms of David and the orthodox hymns. As for the plethoric Dutch burghers, their chief ambition was the acquisition of riches, and whenever they displayed any artistic genius it was not in the literary line. Holland, perhaps, has produced fewer great poets and men of letters than any country in the world having an equally advanced civilization.

What a contrast to the literary conditions of to-day! The burning questions that agitate the laboring classes, the conflicting elements in American society, the alarming growth of municipal oligarchy, the giant corporations, these and many other vital issues challenge the deepest attention of our men and women of letters. The clap-trap sensationalist has had his day. The cheap blood-and-thunder story papers are doomed. The advocates of realism who do not dip their pens in prurience or unsightly gore are welcome. A warmer reception still awaits the novelist who carries out a lofty purpose in his work. He has a mission of sublime import to achieve. Without injury to his idealism may he cope with the social, political and moral problems that confront him. Stories of what the Germans term the *tendenz* class will be greeted with enthusiasm by appreciative minds.

There is no doubt but that the meager monetary rewards of literary labor, during the first half of the nineteenth century, frightened many a mute inglorious Milton away from the thorny path of *belles-lettres*. Even in Edgar Allen Poe's day, literature, as a means

of livelihood, was lamentably precarious. Charles Lamb designated it as a very good cane, but a miserable crutch. It was not considered a profession by itself, like law, medicine and theology in this country. Writers were few who did not have some vocation other than literature on which they depended for their support. The idea of making authorship a trade or business was scouted. And to this day there are people who contend that literature should not be prostituted to a commercial plane, and that no author should allow money to be the incentive of his toil.

If the argument against authorship as a business be urged on the ground that literature is thus rendered banal or meretricious, I have no sympathy with it at all. For it is everywhere a conspicuous fact that the well-trained, well-paid writers of the present time are doing work which, in point of technical excellence, speaking generally, was never reached by their less favored predecessors. Nor are the examples few where masterpieces have been inspired by the hope or promise of money. Dire necessity has stimulated many a stagnant brain to marvelous performance.

The editors of to-day are constantly on the lookout for budding genius, and bright, strong manifestations of it. One veteran monarch of the sanctum—and others of his honored station entertain a kindred solicitude—said some time ago that he never opened his morning mail without a devout hope that he would find a lustrous literary pearl among the usual assortment of common pebbles. The gradual demand for a higher grade of reading matter has quickened competition among both magazines and their contributors.

It is not enough nowadays that articles be broadly recondite and polished; when the subject calls for it they must be scientifically thorough. In consequence, the horizon of the "free lance" is necessarily narrow-

ing as the specialists appear to foreclose, as it were, the mental mortgages they hold on the intellectual domain. The eclectic genius is being crowded to the wall. The editor generally knows where to put his finger on the right man to do a certain thing better than it can be done by anyone else. Naturally he reposes more confidence in the opinions of a man who has devoted his life to a certain branch of science or of art, and has become an authority in that line, than he does in those of a man who, at best, possesses but a superficial knowledge of the subject.

The wide circulation and success of technical and so-called trade journals indicate to what extent specialization has become indispensable in the United States. Yet the literary publications are scarcely affected by this fact. Home culture is dependent in no small degree on current literature, and the favorite magazine is not stopped because the head of the house prefers what he is pleased to term more solid reading.

I have little patience with the traditional notion that a literary man is necessarily not a good business man. In our own day we see men who combine both the literary and business faculty; but it is amusing to observe the contempt which so many solid men of business show toward "literary fellers" and scribblers. These same men have æsthetic faculties which they keep smothered. They are so fearful of being accused of having any sentiment. Yet unconsciously they act from sentimental motives in nine-tenths of their commercial transactions. Sentiment rules the world, and always has and always will. On the other hand, there are thousands of men who devote themselves to art, music, literature and the like, in whom the commercial sense is merely an undeveloped germ. But this does not prove that if they had been trained in commercial life like the average clerk they might not have been

superior to the rank and file of business men, who have no creative or artistic talent.

It is because artists persist in thinking that they are not business people that others derive the same opinion and impose on them whenever a bargain is to be driven. Scarcely admirable are such affectations of weakness on the part of men with brains that can produce work which moves the world. Mind you, I do not mean to insinuate that the truly cultivated man of business sneers at his literary brother; he has too much respect for brains to do that. I refer to the narrow-gauged and mercenary man whose every opinion is jaundiced by gold and his thoughts about it.

Somebody has said, "Every man has his price." I doubt if this be true of all men—at least I should shrink from believing it. But of one class of men—literary men who are famous—this fact is well known among editors and publishers. These favored mortals are able to sell all they produce at so much per word, whether the latter be a little one like "if," or a long one like "incomprehensibility." One cent a word is the usual rate paid by the Harpers and other leading firms for ordinary matter. When a fellow can command two cents a word, he may console himself that he is getting on swimmingly.

Some years ago it was said that such men as Brander Matthews, Richard Harding Davis and Frank R. Stockton could easily place their work at five cents a word, and sometimes more. That present Nestor of American letters, William Dean Howells, is said to charge twenty cents a word for his work. The late Bill Nye, by his lectures and busy pen, made in the neighborhood of \$500 a week the year around for about a dozen years. His was a case of "laugh and the world augh's with you." Rudyard Kipling to-day receives probably the highest prices for his work of any writer

in the English language, and his annual income has been estimated to be at least \$50,000.

The reading of manuscripts is a calling by itself. All the great publishers employ readers, who either receive a salary or a certain amount for each manuscript. It is customary for the readers to give an estimate of the number of words in a manuscript, to furnish a concise synopsis of the plot and to point out the specific merits and demerits of construction, style, etc. The reader has to bear in mind the special requirements of the firm that employs him, and the principal question for him to decide is whether a given manuscript is timely and possesses commercial value, etc. When the report rendered is favorable to a manuscript, the latter undergoes another reading by some one else, and should the second report concur in all essential particulars with the first, the manuscript generally stands a pretty fair show of being published, provided satisfactory arrangements can be made with the author. But in case the second reader renders an adverse decision, a third reader is usually employed, and, of course, his judgment must corroborate one or the other of his colleagues.

Publishers do not like to have it known who their readers are, and they are particular to engage for this exacting work persons who are reliable as well as thoroughly competent. Many readers perform their work in the seclusion of their own homes, though some have regular desks in the publishing houses. It requires fully two days to read a manuscript of 100,000 words and to prepare an intelligent report of it. Manuscripts which are defective in minor details, but strong and dramatic in plot, are usually recommended, for it is comparatively easy to recast phrases and transpose material, but a creditable and characteristic story is not submitted every day. Very few manuscripts are there

which do not require more or less revising and editing. Even the work of well-known writers frequently shows errors, chiefly of haste and carelessness.

The lay reader perhaps cannot realize how many thousands of pages of dreary gush and dry rot are being continually sent to publishers for examination. Probably less than 15 per cent. of the literary matter submitted to any given firm of publishers passes muster. In one year the present writer read over 150 MSS. for a large New York publishing house. Of that number only four were found which he could indorse without reservation, and two of these, singularly enough, were by entirely unknown authors. Some of the others were of fair quality, but lacked in so many points as to be unacceptable. The majority of them were the veriest rubbish. It is presumed that time and labor are expended on a story of say 150,000 words, even though it prove to be hopelessly bad. Authors who write half a dozen such narratives, each duly "declined with thanks," ought to learn that writing is not their forte, and go into some pursuit in which they can deal with substance instead of shadow.

Of late years the newspapers, especially the Sunday editions, and some of the magazines have invaded each others' territory, and, so to speak, exchanged ammunition. Certain monthlies have resorted to journalistic methods for the obvious purpose of booming their circulation. They engage men of high official position to deal with problems of the day that absorb public attention. They furnish symposiums on topics often of a frivolous nature, but which are supposed to be welcome to a large *clientèle*; and lastly, they discuss recent happenings of importance to which belongs a news interest. These are unmistakably journalistic methods.

The establishment of newspaper syndicates has

placed within the reach of daily papers the cream of new fiction and clever special articles, so that the magazines are unable to monopolize the work of famous authors, as in the past. The syndicate system is doubtless a benefit to the writer, the publisher and the public. In the first place, the well-known author can command a higher price for his work from a syndicate than any individual publication is willing to pay him, as a rule. The syndicate can afford to sell the right of publication of a serial story to each newspaper for a price that is merely nominal, as compared to the price a magazine would be obliged to pay to obtain its exclusive use.

It should be remembered that the same story is syndicated to perhaps a hundred newspapers or more, throughout the United States. For obvious reasons the story is sold to but one newspaper in a given territory. Now, suppose the syndicate pays an author one thousand dollars for a novel, and sells the right of its publication to one hundred newspapers, each of which pays the syndicate the modest sum of twenty dollars for its use. According to these figures there is a three-fold benefit accruing to the parties interested. The syndicate makes, deducting the \$1,000 paid the author and the cost of furnishing the proofs, say \$200, a profit of \$800; the author receives at least \$500 more for his story than a magazine would be likely to pay him; besides, his name appears simultaneously in one hundred leading newspapers, thus presumably enhancing his reputation, and certainly giving his work a conspicuous opportunity to be read and admired. Moreover, the author afterward may realize on the publication of the story in book-form, if he retains the copyright.

Each of the one hundred newspapers has received for twenty dollars a story which, if purchased direct from the author, would have cost perhaps \$500, not

including, of course, the important item of type composition, which, however, it may be assumed would involve the same expenditure for other matter. As a business advantage the newspapers are glad of the chance to publish, at a nominal cost, the work of the best contemporaneous writers. Finally, the public is also a gainer, in being afforded an early reading of fiction of the first quality.

But it may be asked: Why may not the author just as well make his own bargains with the newspapers and pocket the profits that flow into the syndicate's coffers? He may, provided there be an active demand for his productions and he possesses the requisite business ability to transact his negotiations, which consume more time than the busy author can spare from his exacting occupation. The majority of recognized writers prefer to be relieved of the cares and responsibilities attending the routine work of the publisher.

The expediency of organizing protective associations among authors in this country is one that should appeal to all men of letters who have at heart the best welfare of their guild. The Society of American Authors is making very creditable progress in this direction. American authors to-day are in greater need of protection of their rights and interests than any other class of producers. It seems to me that they should vigorously exert themselves in promoting practical measures for their own weal and advancement. Why should they not institute an authors' fund, governed upon principles similar to those of the actors' fund, which is proving a veritable godsend to the theatrical profession? If literary men would look soberly at the business side of their calling, they would perceive the necessity of making it more of a pecuniary stronghold than in reality it is. Some time ago several public-spirited ladies of wealth and influence in New York proposed

the establishment of a home for disabled authors. This is one of the noblest enterprises that could be suggested in these modern days, and it is to be hoped that such an institution will soon be in existence.

An authors' protective union, with branches in all the larger cities, would be a capital idea. Nor would an authors' exchange, where publishers and writers could meet and negotiate on equal terms, be an impractical scheme. Business of this kind is now being transacted by syndicate bureaus, which are run by individuals as financial enterprises. The experience of these syndicate gentlemen affords a promise of greater prosperity for their business in the future, unless indeed a cooperative authors' bureau and exchange, managed and controlled by authors themselves, should be inaugurated; in which case, the private syndicates would be likely to suffer. In connection with it a publishing business might be established, modelled somewhat on the plan of the flourishing Authors' Society in London. Such an institution is sure to come into existence sooner or later in this country, and the conditions are ripe for its advent at the present time.

HOURS OF FACTORY LABOR IN THE SOUTH

It is a principle that none will dispute, however much it may be ignored, that the industrial prosperity of any community should be shared by the wage workers. There are two ways in which wage workers can specifically share in the industrial prosperity of the country. One is by receiving higher wages and the other by having a shorter working day. The wages cannot be equitably fixed by law, but must be adjusted by the action and reaction of the economic forces in a community, the demands of the laborers being the chief element in their own interests. But the intelligent action of the laborers as to wages and other economic matters largely depends upon the opportunity the workmen have for acquiring information and becoming intelligently equipped to understand and properly safeguard their own interests, and that is based upon the opportunities for education and the amount of leisure at their disposal.

With the long working day of 12 hours in the factory and high-tension machinery, there is little opportunity for operatives to mingle in society and touch the refining and broadening influences of life, thus acquiring an intelligent understanding of the economic and social conditions under which they work and live, and with no education for the children this opportunity becomes less possible. In fact, a 12-hour working day in the modern factory and no education for the children means of necessity ignorant, dependent laborers, utterly incapable rationally to participate in the social movements of their time, or to effectively demand their proper share in the distribution of the prosperity which they have helped to create. This fact has been so obvious and universal ever since the factory system began

that it has become a part of the public policy of all civilized communities to limit the hours of the working day and provide opportunity for education for factory children by law. The selfishness of capital never voluntarily granted this obvious means of social improvement and development of intelligent manhood among the operatives. It is a peculiar fact that the employers, whether individuals, firms, small corporations or large corporations, have always ignored this obvious necessity to social progress. Indeed, they have not only failed to grant these needed opportunities for equipment in modern life, but have almost universally opposed them when a demand from the operatives or the public has been made for reform in this direction.

The South is wonderfully like the rest of the world in this respect. The English employers opposed every step in this direction until it was forced upon them by the united demands of the laborers and philanthropists of the nation and then enacted into law. In New England the same resistance was shown to the movement for opportunity for factory operatives to acquire the ordinary elements of modern life. There, too, the demand of civilization had to be enforced by statute law before the employers would acquiesce. It is also a peculiar feature of this movement that no community that once adopted the shorter working day ever went back or seriously wanted to go back to the longer working day. The improvement in the mental and moral, as well as physical and social condition of the people, in short, the evident effect on the character and progress of the masses, was such as to establish the universal and everlasting wisdom of this policy.

Recently manufacture, particularly cotton manufacture, has had a rapid growth in the South, and what took place in England in the first decade of the century is repeated in the factory towns of the South: namely,

an 11 and 12-hour working day, no education for factory children and the consequent squalor, ignorance and social backwardness of the laboring class. Attention has been called to this state of affairs in many quarters. The facts have been pointed out in this magazine, not from sentiment or prejudice or hearsay, but as learned by personal observation. We have ventured to suggest that on this great question of the conditions of labor, of the opportunities of laborers to participate in the prosperity and progress of the corporations and the community, the southern states ought to get in line with the rest of Christendom. England, France, Germany, and even Russia, have recognized the importance to the manhood of the nation of a limitation of the hours which operatives, and especially women and children, should be compelled to work in factories, and an improvement in the sanitary and other conditions under which they live and work.

There is perhaps no one characteristic of which the South boasts so much and so frequently as its generosity, its kindness to the weak, and its humane, sympathetic interest in the poor. And yet its press, its corporations and its politicians are refusing to recognize the laborers' request for a 10-hour working day, a 12-year limit for factory children, and provision for education. These are such commonplace demands that no state in the union north of Mason and Dixon's line has refused acquiescence. Every Christian country has recognized one or all of these as the common requisites of Christian civilization.

Now in the face of all this, because we have ventured to suggest that there should be a uniform working day for factory operatives throughout the country, the southern journals have not only opposed it, but have said all sorts of hard things about this magazine and its editor, for suggesting the idea. It is denounced

almost as if it were a crime, the punishment for which might come within the lynching category. The *New Orleans States*, the *New Orleans Picayune*, the *Houston (Texas) Post*, the *Wilmington (N. C.) Star*, the *Atlanta Constitution* and the *Baltimore Manufacturers' Record*, and a number of similar southern papers have devoted bitter editorials to this subject in general, and us in particular. By way of appealing to the passions and to avoid reasoning on the subject, they call it "northern interference," and an "attempt to injure the South in the interest of New England." The *Houston (Texas) Post*, for instance, declares: "The suggestion is worthy of the policy of paternalism that has for years bled the South for the benefit of New England manufacturers."

The *Wilmington (N. C.) Star* suggests that this is an attempt to prevent the success of southern progress and to give eastern manufacturers "a dead sure thing." The *Atlanta Constitution*, approvingly quoting the *New Orleans Picayune*, says: "Even with the same rate of wages and same hours of labor in the southern as in the northern mills, the latter will be unable to compete."

If this be true, and we accept the *Atlanta Constitution* as competent authority, there can be no economic or other valid objection to adopting at least the same hours of labor as the other states. This is a square proposition, which cannot honorably be evaded. Is a uniform working day objected to in the South on the ground of the state-sovereignty doctrine? Is the South opposed to this simply because it is opposed to national legislation on the subject? If this is the ground of the opposition, it can easily be removed. In the first place, no national law can be passed regarding this matter without a constitutional amendment empowering congress to enact such legislation. This would require an intense public demand throughout the country. Of course, the whole nation is interested in the welfare of

the laboring classes in the South, because they represent the citizenship of the republic, and, if nothing is done in this direction, the national sentiment is sure to be aroused, and national legislation demanded and finally enacted. But this can all be easily avoided by the southern states individually doing what the northern states have done individually: namely, get in line with civilization and establish a 10-hour work day for factory operatives, and give some opportunity for education for factory children. If the statement of the *Atlanta Constitution* is true, its objection to the shorter working day must be based on opposition to an improvement in the welfare of the laborers which such a day and proper education would give. Can this be possible?

We desire here to put these questions directly to the *Atlanta Constitution* and the other southern journals following its lead in this matter: (1) Are you opposed to giving the factory operatives of the South the benefit of a 10-hour work day? (2) to fixing an age limit for employing children in the factories? (3) to education for factory children? We would like a direct answer to these questions. No dodging is in order. These are simple, plain, intelligible propositions. If the *Atlanta Constitution* and its followers among the press and employers of the South are really opposed to these propositions, they are opposed to the social and moral improvement of the laboring classes, and must be so regarded. In that case they are entitled to the censure and distrust of the operatives of the South, and of the public sentiment of the nation. On the other hand, if they are in favor of these propositions, which at heart of course they really are, then it is only a question of how to bring about the 10-hour day and the age limit of child labor, and education for working children. As adherents to the dogma of state sovereignty and to

the Jeffersonian doctrine of minimum government, they doubtless want all such reforms to be brought about, first, within the state, and, second, without legislation, as was indicated by the recent manifesto of the North Carolina manufacturers. To this there is no real objection. But, if they wish to be understood as really favoring these progressive propositions, they must express their approval of them and stop abusing everybody who favors them.

All talk of national legislation and northern criticism will disappear if these leaders of southern opinion and guardians of southern conditions will indicate their willingness to give the operatives in that section the 10-hour day and the other ordinary conditions which civilization demands and everywhere else has established. Talk about northern interference and New England jealousy and paternal legislation is all beside the mark, and unnecessary. The abuse of *GUNTON'S MAGAZINE* is of no moment whatever. The question is, are the leaders of opinion and public policy in the South for or against the 10-hour work day, the age limit and educational opportunity for factory children? If they are for this, they will have the cooperation of the public sentiment and press and leaders of public opinion throughout the country in instituting these reforms in their own way. But, if they insist upon opposing the propositions on the ground of northern interference, the world will believe, and very properly, that their reason is mere subterfuge, and that they are simply appealing to sectional prejudice to cover their real antagonism to the normal progress and improvement in the condition of the operatives in the southern states.

Never mind the means; are you opposed to the foregoing propositions? We shall anxiously await an answer.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

A WRITER in the September number of the *World's Work* advocates liberal adoption of the apprenticeship system as a remedy for future strikes. He says:

"In case of strikes on a large scale, there will be in existence vast reserve armies of trained men ready, if so desired, to fill at once even the most responsible places left vacant by strikers."

What is this large army going to be doing when there is no strike? Are they to be kept on the waiting list? If employers could afford to pay for a waiting list, they could afford to make liberal advances in wages. And, if this reserve army is to be kept at work, it will not be a "reserve force," ready to take the place of strikers. The *World's Work* must try again. To flood the shops with apprentices might lower wages, but it would not prevent strikes. It would be much more likely to increase them.

REPLYING TO our criticism for its opposition to a uniform work day, which means a shorter work day for factory operatives in the South, the *Manufacturers' Record* says: "In that editorial there was no expression of hostility to short hours."

No, it was "hostility to" those who advocated "short hours." In all the editorials we have seen thus far in the southern press, not one has ventured squarely to oppose a shorter working day, but they are unanimous in censuring those who ask for it. Will the *Manufacturers' Record* frankly answer these questions? (1) Are you in favor of reducing the working time of factory operatives to ten hours a day? (2) Are you in favor of limiting to twelve years the age at which children may be employed in factories? (3) Are you in favor of compulsory education for children under fac-

tory age? Never mind about the editor of GUNTON'S MAGAZINE, nor the motives of eastern manufacturers; but answer these questions, then the world will know where you stand on the subject.

THE NEW YORK *Journal* is alarmed at the awakening of disgust at its vulgar teaching of anarchy and, by way of defence, with its usual large-type method, has turned to attacking the New York *Sun* for its malignant treatment of public men. Much that it says about the *Sun* is only too true, but that does not remove one jot of the blackness from its own character. It has tried to grow rich and influential by feeding the worst passions of the most ignorant class in the community against our industrial and political institutions and creating class hatred. That it is now blackguarding the *Sun* is only further evidence of this fact. The *Sun* is indeed an indefatigable persecutor of all who cross its path, but its offensive spirit is chiefly directed against individuals, never against the institutions of the country. But the *Journal* and its like make a business of disseminating social envy and sapping the very foundations of social order. It is the Emma Goldman and Herr Most of journalism; a type of paper that public sentiment should make impossible to prosper in this country.

THE QUESTION of direct nominations for political office is receiving considerable attention in several states. Experiments have been made, some of which are defective in their details, but the necessity of some reform in the nominating machinery of this country is so great that the popular demand for experiment is steadily growing. In Minnesota the experiment of 1900 was tried in the Minneapolis municipal election. It did not work as well as expected, and the law was amended by the legislature last winter and will be tried

again in the coming spring election. The *Cleveland Plain Dealer* and several other Ohio papers are discussing the subject with the hope that Ohio politics may be improved by better primary machinery. In New York state, direct nominations is the specific object of a large political organization which will make an effort to have a measure introduced in the next legislature. It is rapidly becoming manifest that the popular voice is practically excluded from the choice of candidates under our convention system with the boss method of control. Direct nominations seems to be the only remedy for this evil. Nothing else promises so effectively to take the power of dictating nominations from the control of a political boss who dictates nominations and uses legislation as a threat to blackmail corporations out of large sums for "protection."

THE EXCITEMENT in the South because Mr. Booker T. Washington dined with the president is an unfortunate exhibition of ill-breeding. What right has the South, or anybody for that matter, to dictate to the president who he shall invite to dinner? In all that goes to make a man Mr. Booker T. Washington is the peer of any and the superior of most of those who have shown the small spirit and bad manners to abuse the president for admitting him to the white house. Nor is this narrow fanaticism confined to loud-mouthed politicians. The president of Hampden-Sidney College, in Virginia, says:

"If Roosevelt, or any other kind of velt, wishes to live with niggers, I cannot help it; if he is built that way, he cannot help it, but he has got no business as president to be guilty of any such criminal folly. It is an outrage on official decency; it is contemptible. If he prefers niggers, nothing I could say could help him; I am a white man, you know."

Such a statement is a disgrace to any educational institution in this country. Mr. Booker T. Washington

is as much whiter than the author of that as civilization is superior to barbarism. But Mr. Roosevelt is not the man to be coerced by such shoddy snobbery. The South may burn negroes at the stake and take pieces of charred remains as trophies of their brutality, but it cannot coerce President Roosevelt from the duty of recognizing the equal rights of all American citizens, and every attempt to do so will react on themselves.

MR. BOURKE COCKRAN has made another flop. This time he has flopped to Tammany. Mr. Cockran is a great orator and usually makes some good points, but he seems to lack intellectual stability. He once belonged to the inner circles of Tammany; he was then constant in his political opinions and consistent in his action. Since he left the fold of the wigwam he seems to have been a wayward wanderer in public affairs. As a representative of Tammany in the democratic national convention of 1884 he made the most flaying philippic against Mr. Cleveland that has been uttered in a quarter of a century, but he quarrelled with Croker and flopped to Cleveland and became his ardent disciple. In 1896 he opposed Mr. Bryan and stumped for Mr. McKinley. In 1900 he flopped to Bryan, for what reason he only knows. In a recent address before the City Club, he characterized Croker and Tammany as the vilest and most unreformable things in modern society. He told the club that there was no hope for New York except in the complete overthrow of Tammany, and now he flops back to the Croker fold. Mr. Cockran has great natural ability. If he had mental stability and anchorage in any political and economic principles he might be a great power for good. But his too frequent self-reversal has destroyed his power of leadership, and in returning to Tammany he can take little besides his own vote.

AS PRESIDENT, Mr. Roosevelt is growing in public confidence and esteem as the days go by. The American people admire to the full the honesty and courage so characteristic of the man. But it must be frankly confessed that there was, in the background, just a little fear lest the manly, wholesome frankness of which he is the embodiment might be a little too prompt for the president of the United States, where such large and subtle conflicting interests converge. But this fear is rapidly passing away. Business men everywhere, as if by inspiration, have acquired great confidence in the stability and conservatism of his administration.

In this they are entirely right. Mr. Roosevelt is not rash and erratic, but, on the contrary, intensely rational and thoroughly conservative for the great interests of national welfare. There is nothing which he is more determined upon than to preserve from a hint of disturbing policy the prosperous industrial conditions of the country. He may be a little prompt with some corrupt officials, but that will only inspire greater confidence, and it will serve notice on the others that corrupt methods will not prevail in his administration. Nothing will be done under his administration that will disturb fiscal conditions or business prosperity or the harmony of foreign relations. He is clean and firm, and hence the unclean will avoid him. This country was never surer of a strong, judiciously conservative administration, and one that will stand like a Gibraltar for industrial prosperity, than the administration of President Roosevelt. He is entitled to the unqualified support of organized labor, of legitimate capital and of every friend of clean government and personal freedom, regardless of section, race or color.

A NOTEWORTHY and far-reaching decision was recently handed down by the British house of lords, re-

lating to the responsibility of trade unions. The suit on which this decision is based was brought by a railway company against the Amalgamated Society of Railway Servants. The company made application for an injunction restraining the society in question from preventing the employment of men in place of those on strike. In reply the labor organization asked that its name be stricken out of the petition, on the ground that it was not a person or a corporation liable to be sued under the parliamentary statute. After considerable legal wrangling, the matter was settled by a decision rendered by the lord chancellor, in which it was held that "if the legislature had created a thing which can own property, which can employ servants, and which can inflict injury, it must be taken to have impliedly given power to make it suable in the courts of law for injuries purposely done by its authority and procurance." If this opinion should cross the sea and become a precedent for judicial decision in the United States, it might render members of a labor organization as amenable to the law of contracts as are employers, whether individuals or corporations.

This would have a salutary influence on trade-union conduct, and ultimately be of even greater advantage to the cause of unionism than to the capitalist employers. The sobering influence of definite responsibility is one of the greatest needs of trade unions in this country today. Without it they can never gain complete recognition as an essential and legitimate factor in American industrial life.

A FEW MONTHS ago the mill owners of Fall River seriously discussed the proposition of reducing wages 10 per cent. Mr. M. C. D. Borden, who, besides owning one of the largest print works in the country, owns large cotton mills in Fall River, denied the necessity of

a reduction of wages. He went so far as to suggest in a public interview that the motive of the manufacturers in reducing wages was to force a strike and so bring about a curtailment of production. This was vigorously denied, and may not have been the correct explanation, but the reduction did not take place. Print cloths were then selling at $2\frac{1}{2}$ cents a yard. Since that time the price has risen to 3 cents, and, consistently with his then position, Mr. Borden has voluntarily advanced the wages of his operatives 5 per cent., and Mr. George A. Chase, of the "Bourne mill," which is equipped with the new Draper loom, has also given an advance of 5 per cent. We have not yet heard that the other manufacturers have done likewise, but just as we go to press it is announced that Mr. Borden will make a still further increase of 5 per cent. on November 4th; the second within a month.

There is no doubt but that the print cloth industry in New England is pressed close to the margin. Bonanza profits are not to be expected, unless the manufacturers utilize the very latest machinery available, and they have not done it. Firms like the "Bourne mill," which have put in the best machinery, are able promptly to give the advance. While New England manufacturers should not be expected to be put to a disadvantage with their competitors in other states as regards hours of labor, they should not expect the operatives to be put to a disadvantage because of their slowness in adopting the most modern machinery.

THE ELECTORS of the state of New York will be asked to approve or reject an amendment to the constitution at the election to be held on the fifth of November. All of the legal requirements for such amendment have been complied with, and the matter is submitted to the people in accordance with a concurrent

resolution passed by the senate and assembly at the late session of the legislature.

It is proposed to amend section eighteen of article three of the constitution. This is the section which prohibits the legislature from passing private or local bills in a multitude of cases, such as changing the names of persons, regulating the rate of interest on money, locating and changing county seats, etc. The meaning of all this is that bills having the import mentioned must be general, and not local or special. The contemplated amendment simply inserts this sentence in the body of the section mentioned: "Granting to any person, association, firm or corporation an exemption from taxation on real or personal property."

The amendment seems to be in entire harmony with the other provisions and prohibitions of the section, and simply means that in the future the legislature shall not pass any special or local law granting tax exemptions.

Inasmuch as the legislature saw fit to submit this amendment to the people it should receive intelligent consideration at their hands, and we believe may be safely approved by the citizens. There is always an inclination, however, to ignore amendments to the fundamental law when submitted, especially when, as in this case, the change seems to be of small importance. Good citizens should exercise all of their prerogatives, and there is every reason why voters should express themselves regarding this amendment as well as in the matter of the election of public officials. Responsible citizens should see to it that this small amendment to the state's fundamental law is not approved or rejected by a vote so insignificant as to be ridiculous.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Education as a Remedy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your two publications for October are filled with thoughts on many and searching themes, especially the vast difference between liberty and license.

Since the 6th day of September last, even here in a rural community, there have been many wild expressions directed against the assassin and assassins in general, but overlooking the causes you call attention to, which led up to the death of our president, as well as the deplorable outlawery in many of our states.

We notice you call much attention to the *New York Evening Journal's* methods. This calls up anew a suggested remedy, or at least a check against the influence of this type of papers. Let the men who are disposed to aid the healthy public opinion you stand for organize an association, including a thousand men and women who are able to contribute yearly one thousand dollars, more or less, each, to such publications as GUNTON'S MAGAZINE and BULLETIN, and many dailies and weeklies with a small subscription price and of sound views, so as to reach all the people and direct them into other than purely sensational and criminal

channels of thought. This would at least influence all who have not passed the dead line on any of the wild vagaries which are so dangerous to the perpetuity of popular government.

L. P. V.

Sutherland, Iowa.

The Suppression of Anarchy

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Please convey to Mr. Gunton, whom I met at the Chicago Trust Conference, my high appreciation of his recent utterances on the question of anarchy. I had occasion to deliver an address at the memorial exercises in this city, when I took occasion to develop somewhat the same line of thought. The pulpit, schools, press and rostrum must help to stamp out one-sided hypercriticism in every phase of society. His strokes at Bryan, populism and socialism are well aimed, and must be repeated. Many thanks for the beginning.

JAMES R. WEAVER.

Greencastle, Ind.

Solution of the Strike Problem

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have received two numbers of your *Lecture Bulletin* and like them very much. Your solution of the strike question is the best I have seen. I certainly think that if all questions were referred to a board constituted as your plan contemplates work would go on just the same and complaints be heard on their merits.

M. S.

Washington C. H., Ohio.

QUESTION BOX

Coffee-Houses in England and America

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I have read the interesting article by Mr. Sweetser in the September GUNTON'S on the "Coffee-House Plan," and am not quite clear why these institutions should work so much better apparently in England than in the United States. You have given so much on English affairs in your pages from time to time that it occurs to me you can explain this matter. Is it because Americans care more for the "drunk" and less for the sociability?

J. S. M.

It is a common mistake to assume that because an institution may work well in one country it is sure to do so in another or in all others. Nothing is farther from the truth. Whether an institution that has worked well in one country will produce similar effects in another will depend entirely upon the habits and customs and traditions of the people in relation to that subject. The coffee-house and the inn are European institutions. They are the social club feature of the laboring classes. Neither of them would be likely to succeed well in this country, because the same necessity for them never existed here. Take, for instance, the German beer garden. Numerous attempts have been made to establish that institution here, but it is not at all the same thing as in Germany, even though attended by Germans. In Germany it is a social feature connected with the family life. It is a gradual development from the very meager privileges of the mediæval peasant. Beer and light wines are the family beverages. They give them to their children, and the beer garden is a family resort. The wife and children accompany the husband and they linger around the mug of beer.

In England the inn is a similar institution with less of a family characteristic; but there, as in Germany, the people linger around their mug of beer as nearly their only opportunity for leisurely social intercourse. They talk their politics and social gossip and have their little amusement. Farther back in the middle ages the public-house or inn was the only place where the laborers could meet at all. These institutions cannot be transferred to this country and have the same effect, because none of the conditions leading up to them ever existed in this country. There never was a time when either the beer garden or the public-house was a social necessity for American citizens to obtain amusement and intercourse. Freedom and almost social equality have existed in this country from the beginning, so that the beer drinking here has taken on an entirely different character. Never having had associated with it the family or leisurely social quality, but under the influence of hurry and rush that characterizes everything American, the very drinking, like the eating, is done in a hurry, and so the saloons in this country are places to stand up and drink hurriedly and often inordinately, from these very circumstances.

The coffee-house is a temperance substitute for the inn in England. It furnishes, minus the intoxicating stimulants, similar social features, but it is tacked on to the same social habits that the inn developed. In this country those habits were not formed by the saloon experience, and the attempt to establish the coffee-house as a substitute for the saloon necessarily lacks that social incentive which exists in England. The coffee-house here takes on the feature of the restaurant rather than either the German beer-garden or the English inn. The Americans have never learned to go to these places for their leisurely intercourse and amusements, and hence do not find it when coffee is substi-

tuted for beer. They have gone to the theatres or to the clubs for this social outlet.

It is, therefore, not surprising to the careful student of European and American traditions that the coffee-house plan does not work in this country, though it worked well in England, and it would be equally true if we should attempt to introduce the English banking system or English parliamentary system in this country. Our traditions and habits regarding those matters are so utterly different from those of England that the public response necessary to their success would be utterly lacking, and the Bank of England system, which is a success there, would probably be a flat failure here. To be successful, social and economic as well as political institutions must largely grow out of the habits, customs and desires of the people. They cannot to any considerable extent be transplanted from one country to another.

Foreign Trade and Home Consumption

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Your lecture on the "Secret of America's Industrial Progress" seems to me entirely adequate and illuminating, but there are those who quote some of your general propositions and think them obscure. For instance, you say that the welfare of the people depends on what they consume and not on what they export. Would it not seem that you condemn commerce by this statement, and that you believe we should only interchange among ourselves rather than supply manufactures to the world? Or do you mean that when we have consumed all of a product that our present standard of living will absorb, what we manufacture over and above that can be exported to the improvement of the welfare of the nation?

L. B. H., St. Louis, Mo.

To emphasize the importance of home consumption and domestic production does not in the least condemn

nor even slight the importance of foreign commerce. It simply emphasizes the most important point in national prosperity and growth. The real place where progress must begin, and from which higher and better attributes must emanate, is home growth. Foreign commerce of any significance must necessarily be the consequence of domestic expansion. There never can be any large demand *per capita* for foreign commerce unless there is a highly diversified home consumption, and this can never arise without comparatively diversified domestic industry. Simple domestic industry always means simple social life and meager consumption. And, *vice versa*, the nation that seeks foreign commerce by neglecting home industry stultifies national progress. For instance, suppose this country could acquire one-third more foreign trade by lowering its wage rate to foreign conditions (and this is commonly advocated); that would destroy the home consumption to that extent. Every dollar's worth of trade so obtained would cost the nation about eight dollars. A reduction of 25 cents a day for all who work for a living in this country would take \$1,705,174,500 out of the national consumption. The total exports for the year ending June 30th, 1901, the largest in the history of the country, amounted to \$1,487,755,557. Thus a reduction of 25 cents a day of all who work for a living would be a loss of \$217,418,943 a year more than the value of the total exports last season.

The only gain to the nation in foreign trade, of course, is the profits. The total exports and imports for 1901 were \$2,310,428,573. Ten per cent. profit on that amount would only be \$231,042,857, or less than one-seventh of the loss to the nation of a 25 cent a day reduction in wages. The loss to the nation of such a step would be equal to sinking to the bottom of the sea every dollar's worth of our exports for 1901. In-

deed, if we could increase our foreign trade 40 per cent. by reducing all workers 5 cents a day, the loss to the nation would be nearly twenty millions a year greater than the gain.

This does not mean that we ought not to have foreign trade or seek for it. What it does mean, however, is that foreign trade should always be the incident and outgrowth of diversified home industry, and that the public policy of the nation should never favor the promotion of foreign trade at any sacrifice, however small, of domestic industry; and, above all, by any lowering of wages and curtailment of home consumption.

Corporations and Government

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I notice you make the claim in your pages that corporations do not desire to control government but only want to be let alone; that they would gladly get out of politics if the politicians would let them. How about the constant struggle of corporations to "grab" municipal franchises, bribing city governments or using almost any means to get something for nothing? If corporations do not care about controlling the government, how did the street railway ring manage to steal the Philadelphia franchises which John Wanamaker offered two and a half million dollars for, and got only an insult for his public spirit?

R. S.

There are two kinds of corporations. One kind is simply organized to conduct productive enterprise of a competitive character. These include the bulk of the corporations in the country. It was this class that was referred to in the article on the "Influence of Corporations on Government" in the last issue.

The other class of corporations are those which operate through franchises granted by state and muni-

cial governments. These are for the most part non-competitive. Their franchises give them a monopoly in their line. Such, for instance, are the street railways, gas works, etc. These corporations have a motive in controlling government, but they constitute such a very small proportion of the whole as not to be an element of danger to the nation. But, to the extent that they succeed, they do constitute an element of danger in politics. For this reason they should be subjected to strict legal conditions. As has been frequently pointed out in these pages, wherever the government grants privileges that abrogate competition, it should exercise rigorous supervision. In short, as in the cases referred to, where the government takes the place of competition, it should do the work of competition: namely, regulate the conditions of the enterprise and the price to the public for the service rendered. For the very reason that corporations, which by virtue of their franchises procure monopoly through the government, are dangerous to pure government, they should be made as few as possible. No exclusive franchises should be granted where the same end can be obtained through free competitive industry, and where franchises are granted it should only be for a limited time and under conditions that will insure the maximum service to the public at the minimum cost. But the fewer there are, the better.

City and Rural Conditions of Civilization

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—What do you consider the principal cause for this condition, namely, that in the centers of civilization or what are generally considered so, for instance New York city, the towns of the New England states, Chicago and other large cities in general, the average rate of wages is the lowest, while here the

greatest amount of child labor is performed, and the standard of living, as measured by food and clothing and economic independence, is far below that of the newly developed agricultural districts or the rough and "rowdy" mining camps. I have had opportunity to see and experience both and the contrast is painful.

H. D. N., Allegheny, Pa.

Before answering our correspondent's question it is necessary to correct his facts. Wages are not the lowest in large cities, in this or any other country. We cannot speak of the average wages in large cities, we can only properly compare wages in the same industries in different places. The average wages in New York city, including the children in the sweatshops, would utterly misrepresent the city. If we want to compare the wages in a city with those in a country place we must take the same industries, like carpenters, plumbers, masons, tailors, and so on, in which case we shall find that wages in the cities are higher than in rural communities.

In new countries and mining camps, food and clothing are usually very dear. In Dawson City eggs have been more than a dollar each, and a cloth suit costs a small fortune, so that the exceptionally high wages in such places do not indicate standard of living. Economic independence is always at its height in such new communities, for the obvious reason that the inhabitants are not the product of such communities but are composed of the daring spirits who have emigrated from thickly settled centers.

If we want to judge the effect of agriculture and mining on the standard of living and civilization of the people, we must go to countries where the character of the people has been formed under the influence of these occupations, and then we shall find that the

standard of living and personal independence are lower than in large cities and manufacturing centers.

Take, for example, the English agricultural laborers, French, Russian and German peasants, and European miners in general. Agriculture and mining in our western states furnish no correct indication of the real influence of these occupations, because, as already remarked, the character of the population has not been developed under agricultural and mining conditions. In fact, most of the western enterprise and freedom of which we are so proud is the product of eastern civilization.

The Place of Agriculture in Economic Progress

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You say in the August number (page 178): "The tendency of progress is away from agriculture and toward manufacturing and artistic industries." Do you mean exactly that? Or, if you do, is the conclusion accurate? Does well-balanced and well-rounded progress leave agriculture behind for the sake of manufacture? Something that might be called progress might do this, but, considering the immense importance of agriculture to the continuance and maintenance of the race, can a tendency which leads away from it be considered as being actually progressive? I should think that real progress would take agriculture, as well as manufacturing and artistic industries, along with it; and that something professing to be progress which did not do this did not fully deserve the name.

New Bedford, Mass.

W. L. S.

Our correspondent is right. The phrase "away from agriculture" did not correctly express the idea intended to be conveyed. It would be much more correct to say the tendency of progress is toward a greater variety of manufacturing and artistic industries. Any movement of society which tended away from agricul-

ture, in the sense of neglecting agriculture, would not be altogether wholesome progress. Agriculture, which includes extractive and raw-material producing industries, is indispensable to society in any stage of civilization and not less indispensable in the highest and most complex society. Agriculture is indispensable to the physical foundation of society, and therefore can never be dispensed with, but it is none the less true that high culture and diversified civilization can never be reached through agricultural industries alone.

The higher refinements of society always come and must of necessity come through diversified artistic industries, for two reasons: first, because the diversification brings the social environment for culture, and second, civilized society cannot exist without the products of manufacture and art. Moreover, there cannot be much increase in agriculture in proportion to population, at least so far as foodstuffs are concerned, because people do not eat more with the advance of civilization. Their increase of consumption is all on the side of manufactures and art products; in clothing and furniture, conveniences, architecture and art; in short, the increased consumption is in the direction of the social, not the physical, wants of society, and these are supplied by manufacturing and artistic industries. So that, while progress is not "away from agriculture," it is toward a much greater proportion and variety of manufacturing and artistic industries.

Anarchism and Crime

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you mean to imply in your recent discussions of anarchism that all anarchists advocate violence and murder? Is there not a large group of scientific anarchists who believe in gradually abolishing government by peaceful methods? E. H. D.

We do not mean to say that all anarchists advocate violence and murder, but all anarchists are enemies of organized society, and the logical effect of their teaching is murder and other forms of physical force to overthrow society, because no other method will accomplish the end. So-called "theoretic anarchists," and I know a few who profess to be such, always rejoice at the fall of a ruler, no matter how accomplished. The theory of anarchy has no constructive basis at all. Its only aim and ultimate goal is disintegration and destruction of associated interdependence. In theory, therefore, as well as practice, anarchy means the overthrow of organized order, and it always leads directly to criminal methods. There is no such thing as peacefully abolishing government. The teacher of anarchy is an enemy of society, no matter whether it is a Benjamin Tucker or a Herr Most.

BOOK REVIEWS

THE PURITAN IN ENGLAND AND NEW ENGLAND.
By Ezra Hoyt Byington. Cloth, 457 pages, \$2.00.
Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

The puritans, whether fighting the royalist forces under Cromwell, contending in parliament for a broader interpretation of English liberty, or carving a commonwealth out of the wilderness in the new world, fell into friendly hands when Mr. Byington became their historian.

Less than a hundred pages of the book before us deal directly with the puritans in England. Enough is said about them as they suffered and fought in the mother country to give a glimpse of their character, and to show the environment from which those who came to our country escaped. Then the story of the puritan in New England is taken up, and is told with a wealth of detail and heartiness of sympathy which make the book the work of an able advocate. It is exceedingly readable, and is profitable for instruction regarding the aims and ideals of the peculiar people who became nation builders.

The difference between the pilgrims who settled at Plymouth and the puritans who founded the colony of Massachusetts Bay is clearly stated. Those who came over in the Mayflower, and such additions as were made to their numbers, were distinctively religious exiles, some of them twice removed. They fled first in search of religious freedom to the tolerant atmosphere of the Dutch republic, and made their second exodus that they might find for themselves freedom of conscience, rear their children in the faith, and educate them in the language and in touch with the civic institutions of the fatherland. Building a political com-

monwealth with them was largely an incident or accident of their new condition.

The puritans, who came a little later, and much more numerous, were direct arrivals from the political turmoil and religious troubles existing in the mother country. Many of them had been men of affairs at home, and they had a purpose other than a mere quest for religious freedom in seeking a refuge in the American wilderness. When they came it looked as if a general exodus of the large puritan element would have to be made from England, as civil as well as religious liberty was threatened with a perilous time under both James and Charles. For this reason the puritans of Massachusetts Bay began the business of statecraft as soon as they began to fell the wilderness. This colony received constant additions, and in about a quarter of a century thirty thousand puritans had crossed the sea to the new settlement.

Mr. Byington devotes chapters of his book to "Early Ministers in New England," "The Family and Social Life of the Puritans," "Religious Opinions of the Fathers of New England," "Witchcraft in New England," etc. A whole chapter is given to "William Pynchon, Gent.," that forceful colonist, the founder of Springfield. Pynchon wrote a book, was charged with heresy, but escaped the rigors of persecution, although his book was ordered to be burned. He returned to England and the bosom of the mother church. Incidentally it may be remarked that not a few puritans had a warm feeling for the established church, except as it looked towards prelacy.

The twentieth century intellect can hardly fail to be amazed at the exposition of that blood-curdling and brain-taxing theology, regarding which the Hookers, Nortons and Mathers wrote learned disquisitions and

disputations expounding imputed righteousness, original sin, and the other speculative tenets of the time.

The two blots upon the puritan name and fame, the persecution of the Quakers and the executions for witchcraft, are dealt with in a discriminating way. No defence is made of these barbarities other than that they were in accord with the temper of the times. In England and on the continent the witchcraft craze raged with diabolical fury, and no less a man than Sir Matthew Hale held to the belief in witchcraft and the validity of trials for its punishment.

It must be remembered that the puritans considered themselves a veritably peculiar people possessed of a divine commission. They did not want to be troubled with Quakers or others likely to disturb the unity of the theocracy which they had established. The Quakers were therefore ordered to go, and not to stand upon the order of their going. They scourged and cut off the ears of the contumacious, and hanged four of them, until the disciples of Fox learned better than to attempt to sit under the puritan vine and fig tree, or the men of the colony grew more tolerant.

In dealing with the puritan he must be considered in connection with his environment. He did not finish building the ideal civic and ecclesiastical polity, but only contributed to it. Liberty and toleration have been plants of slow growth. They have come as the result of infinite toil and trouble, and by slow degrees. It took the refining process of puritan persecution to bring Roger Williams the foresight to found that remarkable secular commonwealth, the Providence plantations, where absolute toleration for the heretic on the one side and the Catholic on the other was an established fact in government.

The reading of a book like "The Puritan in England and New England" cannot fail to intensify one's

appreciation of the great contribution of the puritans to the building of the American commonwealth. Without them the country could not have been made and perfected a nation. Wider reading will enable the broad-minded student to see that all the contributing factors were necessary to make the fabric of our composite civilization. The Cavalier in Virginia, the Catholic in Maryland, the Huguenot in Georgia, the Quaker in Pennsylvania, and even the Dutch burgher in New York, were all essential to the formation of our national character.

Discounting the services of none of these types in the task of nation building, it is probably not saying too much to claim that to the puritan belongs a large part of the credit for that pioneer and home-building spirit, coupled with that genius for government, which made possible the development of our continent between the two seas. But that is not saying that the puritans were saints. In the history of the world only an occasional man has stood sun-crowned with his head above the clouds, a prophet of better things and a leader of progress. Peoples and groups have never been able to divorce themselves entirely from the spirit of the time in which they lived, and the puritans were not exceptions to this rule.

To them in a measure is due the credit of building wiser than they knew. They came to the American wilderness to found a church without a bishop. Remaining loyal to the British crown, they set forces in motion which enabled their sons to establish a state without a king, and build the most luminous beacon light of civil and religious liberty the world has ever seen.

FALSTAFF AND EQUITY: An Interpretation. By Charles E. Phelps, Law Professor, University of Mary-

land, etc. Cloth, 201 pp., with appendices and index. \$1.50. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., Boston and New York.

The author of this book warns us at the outset that he has taken upon himself the task of explaining a joke, and we must confess that to the ordinary comprehension the joke deepens with the explanation. At any rate one has to do more than "smell the paper knife" to appreciate the nature of the joke or the drift of its exposition.

Readers of the first part of Shakespeare's Henry IV. will remember that in the second scene of Act II., as the thieves reenter to divide their plunder, Falstaff, the fat jester, delivers himself in this fashion: "An' the Prince and Poin's be not two arrant cowards, there's no equity stirring."

All of the Shakespearian critics, so Mr. Phelps tells us, have ignored this passage, laden as it is with humor and legal lore, and this book was inflicted upon the public simply to bring to light the hidden meaning in the quotation from Falstaff. That the task is performed to the author's satisfaction is quite evident, but that the game is worth the powder is a matter for debate. We suspect that practical people will look upon the effort of Mr. Phelps as a fairly good illustration of what Bassanio said of Gratiano's mental action, in the Merchant of Venice: "His reasons are as two grains of wheat hid in two bushels of chaff."

The real grain in the chaff before us is probably to be had, but it requires a good deal of winnowing to get it, and when obtained here is about what it is:

During the sixteenth century there was a tremendous contest between the chancery and common law courts in England; some of the chancery findings had an element of the iniquitous and the ludicrous in them. Shakespeare and his father indulged in the ruling passion for litigation which characterized the time, and

invoked the aid of chancery when they had reason to believe that a common law jury would not serve their purpose. This causes Mr. Phelps to contend that Shakespeare put the words quoted into the mouth of Falstaff as a sort of a "gag" or by-play to the galleries, then as now quick to appreciate a reference to current controversy. It is also held that the use of this word "equity," upon which the whole mortal 201 pages of the book hinge, proves the marvelous versatility of the writer of Shakespeare's plays, and Mr. Phelps does not hesitate to claim that Shylock's "pound of flesh" was quite as much a drive at the ridiculous and wicked findings of chancery as it was an attempt to hold Hebrew avarice up to public scorn. While believing that Shakespeare was himself and not Bacon, Mr. Phelps rather intimates that had Ignatius Donnelly lived to see this day, and read "Falstaff and Equity," he would have found the "king-pin of the wain" of his theory, to which he might have clung.

There is a certain amount of sixteenth century lore in this book for the law student and the Shakespearean scholar, if he cares to dig for it, but that the "joke" in Falstaff is explained, or that the explanation is particularly important if made, we by no means admit.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Rivalry and Success in Economic Life. By Professor Richard T. Ely. White leatherette, 12mo, 35 cents. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

Questions of Empire. By Lord Rosebery. White leatherette, 12mo, 35 cents. Thomas Y. Crowell & Co., New York.

The Making of an American: An Autobiography. By Jacob Riis, author of "How the Other Half Lives," etc. Cloth, 8vo. The Macmillan Co., New York. Profusely illustrated.

Inductive Sociology. A Syllabus of Methods, Analyses and Classifications, and Provisionally Formulated Laws. By Franklin H. Giddings, author of the "Principles of Sociology," etc. Cloth, 8vo. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The Science of Penology. The Defence of Society against Crime. By Henry M. Boies, M.A., author of "Prisoners and Paupers." Cloth, 8vo, \$3.50, by mail \$3.70. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York.

The Literary History of the American Revolution, 1763-1783. By Moses Coit Tyler, professor of American history in Cornell University. Cloth, 2 vols., large octavo (sold separately), each \$3. G. P. Putman's Sons, New York.

Five Years of My Life: 1894-1899. By Alfred Dreyfus, ex-captain of artillery in the French army. Cloth, 8vo, 310 pp. \$1.50. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

Substitutes for the Saloon. An Investigation made for the Committee of Fifty under the Direction of Elgin R. S. Gould, Francis G. Peabody and William M. Sloane, Sub-committee on Substitutes for the Saloon. By Raymond Calkins. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.30. Houghton, Mifflin & Co., New York.

The Practice of Charity. Individual, Associated and Organized. By Edward Devine, Ph.D., general secretary of the charity organization society of the city of New York. Cloth, 186 pp. 65 cents. Lentilhon & Co., New York.

The Early Age of Greece. By William Ridgeway, M.A. Vol. I., cloth, 8vo, 684 pp. \$5. The Macmillan Co., New York.

The French Revolution. A Sketch. By Shailer Mathews, A.M., professor in the University of Chicago. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.25. Longmans, Green & Co., New York. Containing a portrait of Mirabeau.

The Great Boer War. By A. Conan Doyle. Cloth, 12mo. \$1.50. McClure, Phillips & Co., New York.

FROM RECENT MAGAZINES

“ The demand for labor shows no diminution. The governor of Kansas was obliged to issue an edict that all tramps in the state must go to work in the wheat fields. This did not bring any more help to the farmers, but it succeeded in ridding Kansas of its army of idlers, and gave proof to the assertion that there are men who would rather live in indolence and beg sustenance than improve their condition by work. As a result the farmers have been obliged to import laborers from New York, and the steady influx of immigrants has found a glad welcome; and yet, one-fifth of the grain crop west of the Mississippi will go to waste because there are not enough men to care for it. In some sections of Pennsylvania, farm labor is so scarce that women, and even girls, are employed to work in the fields. Those who scoff at the claim of prosperity are invited to study these facts. The demand for labor is only possible in times of real prosperity. Some occupations may be overcrowded, but those willing to turn to any honest labor seem to find no difficulty in securing it.”—*Success*, (September.)

“ That automatic machinery has had the effect of diminishing the individuality and personal initiative is wholly improbable. If the slow moulding of ages, the heredity of generations, and the environment of art, science and literature can produce a type of men having little or no imagination, individuality, or personal initiative, it would certainly seem that they are of too resisting fibre to be affected, either for good or ill, by a few years' contact with machinery. Such a type, doubtless, performs valuable functions in the economy of the race, by conserving the good of the past and steadying the present. Nature, which has so carefully

preserved this type, can be relied upon to still guard and keep it, to act as a balance weight during a few more epochs. To one, however, who has the slightest spark of the living fire of imagination, an automatic machine is a liberal education and an inspiration, the daily association with which must of necessity augment his knowledge, cultivate his perceptive faculties, and stimulate his intelligence.—W. H. SMYTH, in "The Tool, The Machine, The Man," *Cassier's Magazine*, (September.)

"Comparatively few people possess any very clear conception of what Mr. Morgan is or does in Wall Street. He is vaguely compared with Mr. Keene, who is a speculator; with Jay Gould, who was a wrecker; with Hill and Harriman, who are strictly railroad men; with the Astors, who are primarily real estate owners; with Mr. Carnegie, who was an iron-master. But Mr. Morgan's business is purely that of a banker—a worker with money. He is not a practical railroad man, nor a steel manufacturer, nor a coal dealer, although he is interested in all these things, because he is constantly buying and selling railroad and steel and coal stocks. . . . While Mr. Morgan must make use of his own large means, it no doubt forms but a small part in his vast deals. The essence of successful banking is connections, otherwise friends. While coveting large earnings capital is proverbially shrinking and timid, fearing to strike out boldly for itself, and yet ever ready to trust itself with confidence to the leader whose skill, foresight and cautious daring have been steadily fruitful of success. Such a money master is J. Pierpont Morgan."—RAY STANNARD BAKER, in "The World's Great Money Master;" *McClure's Fortnightly Gazette* (October.)



CHARLES DE GARMO

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GUNTON'S MAGAZINE

REVIEW OF THE MONTH

The Fusion Victory in New York

The followers of Tammany were probably not more surprised at the result of the election of November 5th than the victors themselves. It was expected with a good deal of confidence that the general city ticket of the fusion forces would win by the aid of sufficient majorities in Brooklyn borough to offset the democratic handicap in Manhattan; but hardly anybody expected a victory of such wholesale proportions. The success of Justice Jerome and the candidates for the supreme court is really remarkable, since none of these could count on any support from Brooklyn. The fight had to be made entirely within the limits of Manhattan and the Bronx, where Tammany is thoroughly organized and intrenched at every point. It was also feared, toward the last, that Justice Jerome's sudden attack on Senator Platt, accusing him of conspiracy with William C. Whitney to defeat the fusion county ticket, would cause a large number of republican organization men to knife the ticket, especially to defeat Jerome. The result proved that not only were these fears groundless, but that Mr. Jerome undoubtedly gained in popular support by his thoroughly fearless and independent attitude. He had made the fact perfectly clear that he was indifferent to the favor or opposition of either of the organization bosses, and if a candidate can really establish this fact

in the popular mind he is certain of popularity. The attack on Senator Platt, furthermore, even though partially withdrawn, made it absolutely necessary for the republican organization to show a heavy vote for Jerome in the republican districts, or else stand convicted of the charge of conspiracy against him. Mr. Low received a majority of nearly 30,000 in the entire city. His majority in Manhattan and Bronx was only about 4,000, while Justice Jerome received more than 15,000.

The result of the vote for supreme court justices is equally gratifying, involving, as it does, the defeat of Mayor Van Wyck, who received the smallest vote cast for any of the seven candidates. Four justices were to be elected; one of the candidates, Justice O'Brien, being the joint nominee of both parties. Of the three defeated Tammany candidates, Van Wyck was about 22,000 and 23,000 behind his two colleagues, respectively.

**A Vindication of
the Metropolis**

The result shows that New York is not, as is so often complacently assumed, normally a Tammany city. Four years ago the combined republican and citizens' union vote was nearly 20,000 larger than that given the successful Tammany candidate; and this year Tammany is in the minority by considerably more than 30,000, on the average: the majority given to Mr. Grout for controller being about 45,000 and to Mr. Fornes for president of the board of aldermen more than 31,000. The reason for Tammany's numerous successes is not that New York prefers the Tammany type of government. It has been due simply to Tammany's remarkable organization, based on the "cohesive power of public plunder," and maintained with unflagging activity in every quarter of the city, and on the other hand the factional

differences between the friends of good government. Whenever it has been possible to overcome these differences, as in 1894 and 1901, the decent elements have won, and if this experience is only heeded in the future there need never be another particle of proof to support the claim that the people of New York actually prefer Tammany to decency.

The Tammany apologists during the late campaign worked themselves into a high state of indignation about the way the fusion candidates were "defaming" the good name of the city in exposing the peculiarities of Tammany government; but facts are the potent things after all. The result of the election, in proving that the real majority is on the side of clean municipal government, has done more than anything that has occurred in a quarter of a century to clear the good name of New York city from the reproach resting upon it, and show that at the core it is really one of the best cities in the the world.

**Some
First Results**

The splendid results of this victory are already becoming apparent, long before any of the successful candidates are put in authority. There is an altogether better civic atmosphere, plainly noticeable on every hand. There is less of cynical indifference and pessimism, and the novel idea is clearly gaining ground that after all there can be such a thing as clean, honest, high-minded municipal government, conducted for the public interests and not for private spoils. It is coming to be seen also that there are methods worth discussing, and worth putting in practice, for safeguarding public morals and doing even-handed justice, without an organized system of blackmail based on the theory that certain evils are bound to exist anyway, and therefore should be

officially ignored while privately serving as rich sources of enormous corrupt political revenue.

The most conspicuous concrete evidence, thus far, that this better civic spirit is a reality is the acceptance of the position of corporation counsel by Mr. George L. Rives. Mr. Rives was president of the commission appointed by Governor Roosevelt to revise the New York city charter, is also a member of the rapid transit commission, and of the board of trustees of the New York public library, and is one of the most prominent members of the New York bar. That such a man should be willing to sacrifice probably two-thirds or three-fourths of his annual income for the patriotic service of the municipality, is an inspiring restorer of faith in the actual possibility of high-class municipal administration.

**The Sunday
Opening Question**

There is no more perplexing problem before the new administration than that of liquor selling on Sunday, and it is being hotly debated already. The provisions of the Raines law which have resulted in establishing the infamous "Raines hotels" have comparatively few defenders left; but those who are willing to see this arrangement abandoned are not at all agreed that there should be any opening of the saloons on Sunday. Not even the liquor dealers are making a fight for all-day opening, nor even for front-door opening at any time on Sunday. The most that is being urged with seriousness is that after 1 or 2 o'clock in the afternoon it shall be lawful to open the side entrances and serve customers at the bar inside.

Whatever may be the merits of the controversy from other standpoints, it is not a valid argument against Sunday afternoon beer selling that every other kind of business ought then to have the same right.

Supplying the demand for food and drink, whatever its particular nature, is essentially different from any other kind of business. The goods have to be furnished ready for use, and cannot be bought in advance and held over without great inconvenience, or loss of those qualities in the articles which chiefly give them whatever utility they possess. It no more follows that to permit Sunday afternoon beer selling is unjust to all other trades than that permitting hotels to serve meals on Sunday is unjust to other lines of business. The nature of the business establishes the distinction, and it is perfectly clear. The real point at issue is whether the permission to sell liquors on Sunday afternoon ought to be granted at all or not, on its own merits, having regard to the established habits and customs of the people and the general public welfare. As Mr. Low well expressed it in his speech at the City Club banquet, November 14th:

"Because the population is cosmopolitan the city government must be cosmopolitan also. I shall feel myself ashamed if, when this government is fully organized, it does not appear to be representative of all the elements that make up the bone and sinew of the city. It must fairly represent the different races and the different creeds, the different points of view which are natural to men of different upbringing. . . . It must be catholic enough in its composition to make all of the people who have created it feel that it is their government, and that they have had something to do in giving it its success."

**Law and
Public Morals**

It is impossible to enforce a law that has public sentiment against it without developing means of evasion which are often worse than the original evil itself. There is no question that public sentiment in New York would be against a letting down of the bars which permitted any brawling disturbance of the orderly quiet and decency of Sunday, or the flaunting of a noisy front-door business of any kind in the face of the general public. But outside these limits, it is an open question if a limited

amount of regulated liquor-selling is not what this same majority public sentiment really wants. If so, the practical results from the standpoint of public morals and decency might conceivably be an improvement over the present system, with its premium on deception and evasion and encouragement of the vile "Raines hotel" resorts.

It seems so easy to establish good morals by law, *presto change*, that many well-meaning people apparently forget that morality is an individual product, of slow growth, and worth nothing unless it is genuine. If the moral character is not there the man will hunt out some way of satisfying his appetite in spite of us, and the danger is that in heading him off in one direction we may drive him to his object through altogether worse and more demoralizing channels.

There can never be any final and genuine solution of these problems of individual morality other than in the slow development of an enlightened moral sense throughout the community; and efforts devoted to promoting this will be far better spent than in trying to force a series of arbitrary remedies. A considerable number of New York clergymen are taking this view of the matter, especially in the light of recent experience; and it is certain that both Justice Jerome and Mr. Low personally favor a thorough overhauling of the present system. A change in the present law would of course have to come through legislative action at Albany, but it is probable that if the wishes of the people and of the new administration in New York are put in definite and unmistakable form the legislature will not refuse this extent, at least, of home rule. Probably it could not do better than refer the whole matter to local option. Whatever is done or whatever system is adopted, one thing is certain: there will be no more police blackmail and no more systematic selling of the privilege of breaking the law under official protection.

**The Big
Railroad
Combination**

The rush to organize "trusts" is not nearly so great as it was two or three years ago, but when a new organization does come along, nowadays, it is likely to be rather a breath-taking affair. Since the organization of the United States Steel Corporation, in February, 1900, there has been nothing of great importance in the concentration line until the announcement just now made of the formation of a \$400,000,000 corporation to absorb the stock of the Great Northern, Northern Pacific, Union Pacific, and Chicago, Burlington and Quincy railroads. Considerable opposition to this deal has developed from the state government of Minnesota, but it does not seem likely that its ultimate consummation can be defeated. It is the culmination of the long struggle between these rival properties, which led up to the Wall street panic of last May, and has been in process of negotiation and attempted settlement ever since. The consolidation is the usual outcome of this kind of situations; indeed, it is the only practical way in the long run of stopping the ruinous and useless waste of rate wars and stock market "raids," with their depressing effect, not only on the properties concerned, but on the business of the community at large.

The conduct of the steel "trust," with reference to prices of products, methods of dealing with labor, and voluntary publication of the financial results of management, have so falsified the hostile predictions made at the time of its organization that this new giant combination excites comparatively little discussion. It is being pointed out, and very truly, that a railway combination like this is in reality a protection to the small independent concerns; a sort of balance wheel that will operate as a check to unfair advantages sought by larger establishments in the way of special freight rates. It is well known that one of the princi-

pal evils connected with large organization of capital has been the too frequent discriminations permitted to large shippers as against small ones, and the consequent impossibility of competing on a basis of actual economic efficiency. The evil has seemed so persistent, and almost unavoidable, that even the opponents of "trusts" in certain quarters have come to the point of urging that railroads be allowed to form "pools," as before the passage of the interstate commerce law; the theory being that a system of *pro rata* division of earnings would destroy the incentive of different roads to discriminate in favor of large shippers in order to gain their business.

There is no doubt that to permit pooling under certain necessary restrictions would be an improvement on the present system, but as an economic arrangement is it distinctly inferior to actual consolidation of the properties? Pooling is merely an agreement between a number of roads, fixing a scale of prices and a basis of division. It does not necessarily contribute anything to the economy of operating the systems; but, where the properties are actually combined under one ownership and management, we not only get uniform rates and abolition of the incentive to discriminate, but there is an increased efficiency of management which permits a gradual lowering of rates to the entire community. Under such conditions it is possible to distribute both the traffic and the expenses in such a way as to yield the best net advantage, not to mention the increased opportunity of improving properties and bringing them up to a high standard of efficiency by means of the large capital available, when under the separate management some of the roads could do no more than keep up with the interest on their indebtedness.

The test of this new consolidation, like that of all

others, will be in the wisdom of its management. If it does succeed in abolishing discriminations within its sphere of influence, it will do what years of experimental legislation have as yet failed to accomplish, and the public will share the benefit.

The "Trust" Situation Down to Date This railroad deal, with its manifest advantages if properly supervised, is not the only incident of recent occurrence tending to lessen the public fear of "trust" aggression. Nearly every one of the big industrial combinations is encountering a vigorous and in many cases increasing competition from rival concerns, and no scheme of concentration has been or can be devised that can prevent this movement from going on. The competition is most active just now in sugar and tobacco, but it is not wanting by any means even in the steel and oil industries, where we have the two most powerful of American industrial corporations. There is a decline since last year in the value of so-called "trust stocks" along almost the entire line, as pointed out recently by the *New York Journal of Commerce*; for example, 40 points in Amalgamated Copper stock, 33 points in United States Rubber, 27 points in Diamond Match, 15 points in American Linseed Oil, 20 points in National Salt, 34 points in American Sugar Refining, 25 points in American Bicycle stock, and so on. Part of this may be due to overcapitalization, but the capitalization would not necessarily show a lower rate of earnings but for the inroads of new competition. Industrial monopoly was never a serious possibility in this country, and there is nothing in sight at present to indicate that it ever will be.

Li Hung Chang
and China's
Future

The death of Li Hung Chang removes the last of the four great men General Grant found in his trip around the world a quarter of a century ago. The veteran Chinese states-

man was by long odds the ablest and most conspicuous man in the realm, but China will probably never realize how much his influence and sagacity did to hold the empire intact, against internal revolutions and external designs. Like nearly all orientals, he was unscrupulous when occasion required, and probably nobody ever had any extraordinary proofs that his word was as good as his bond. He was the one great man in China, however, whose general attitude was friendly to western ideas. Whatever China has of railroads and telegraphs and foreign capital, to-day, is in large part due to his influence, encouragement and protection. Aside from this, his greatest services to China were in the handling of foreign diplomatic negotiations. Although removed from power several times, he was too useful to remain permanently in the background, and every fresh crisis brought him to the front. His last great service was in the recent negotiations with the powers, but his advanced age (79) and illness of course limited his ability to modify in any important degree the terms imposed on China.

It is a curious coincidence that the death of Li Hung Chang should come almost simultaneously with the announcement of the text of the final agreement between China and the powers. This differs only in details from the terms made public some months ago. It prohibits the importation of arms and ammunition for two years, and as much longer as the powers may consider necessary, and provides for revision of foreign trade treaties; improvement of the Pei-Ho and Whang-Poo rivers for navigation purposes; destruction of the forts at Taku; military occupation by the powers of several points between Peking and the sea; the death penalty for membership in any anti-foreign society; and an indemnity of 450,000,000 taels (about \$334,000,000) to be paid in 39 years, with annual interest at 4 per

cent., etc. The revenues needed for carrying and paying off this debt are to be taken chiefly from the maritime customs, all of which are raised 5 per cent., except those on rice, cereals, flour and gold and silver bullion.

The penance required by Germany for the murder of Ambassador Von Ketteler has already been performed, by an official apology conveyed to Emperor William by Prince Chun and presented at Potsdam on September 4th. Some of the reforms promised by China are already under way; an order having been issued early in September, for instance, providing for reforms in the official examinations required for office-holding. Hereafter such examinations must include western sciences, history and industrial methods, while some of the antiquated purely classical examinations have been abolished and others reduced to minor importance.

There is only one way for China to avoid dissolution and dismemberment, and that is by carrying out these and other reforms as a permanent policy for the future, and in no merely perfunctory spirit. Both in its internal policy and foreign relations it will have to renounce utterly the type of administration and political principles represented by the empress dowager, and shape its future course in accordance with a genuine spirit of progress. The influence of Li Hung Chang, in the main, ran along these lines, but there are none too many of his kind left. China will now have to stake its hope of salvation on something broader than the personal influence of one man. What the experience of the last year and a half may have done to enforce this fact will only appear after the full scheme of settlement with the powers is in actual operation.

**England's
Serious Plight**

The English nation to-day is facing a crisis which has a vital relation to the whole future of the British empire. The crisis is three-fold,—military, financial and industrial. By including the military situation we do not mean to imply that the Boer war is going to destroy the prestige of the English army and encourage any hostile European coalition, but it is revealing an astonishing and unsuspected laggardness and inefficiency in British military methods and organization, which will have to be speedily and radically reformed if the empire is to be regarded as impregnable in the old matter-of-course sense.

The Boer struggle continues without apparent change, an unbroken, wearisome round of petty strokes and counter-strokes, capture of British supplies by the Boers and driving off of Boer raiders by the British, with little prospect of termination. Technically, the two former republics are under British authority, but raiding is constant and there is not enough security from disturbance in any quarter to warrant resumption of peaceful industry on any important scale. The British authorities have apparently come to believe that only the most drastic measures can do anything towards bringing the war to a close; at present they are executing rebels in Cape Colony and enforcing General Kitchener's proclamation that all burghers making armed resistance to the British authority, who should not surrender before September 15th, would be permanently banished from South Africa. Furthermore, the problem of supporting the Boer prisoners, and enabling Boer farmers to resume work on their devastated lands, is becoming more and more serious. The whole affair is inflicting on the British treasury and people a steadily increasing burden of debt and taxation.

There is another and perhaps equally serious phase

of England's financial problem. Although war expenditures are absorbing a considerable amount of surplus funds, British capital seems destined to face an increasing difficulty of finding profitable investment. The enormous prosperity of the United States is making this country a lender rather than a borrower, and more capital is being returned to England, directly or indirectly, than is being brought here for investment. If there were an adequate expansion of domestic industries going on, this surplus capital might be absorbed at home, but on the contrary, for the first time since the beginning of the factory system, England is dropping behind in the race for industrial and commercial supremacy. The United States is taking the lead by leaps and bounds, having now the largest foreign trade of any country in the world. Our total exports for the year ending June 30, 1901, amounted to \$1,487,656,544; imports, \$882,756,533; excess of exports, or "balance of trade," \$664,900,011. Almost 30 per cent. of our exports are manufactured goods, and a considerable part of this has been going right into markets formerly controlled by British manufacturers. England's foreign trade is showing an actual decline, and this is of course reacting on domestic industries. The situation is made even more dubious by the unfavorable returns of British railroads recently published, showing serious losses of income on nearly all the principal lines, and so reflecting in another way the decline of domestic industrial activity.

What the
Situation
Demands

It would be a calamity to civilization if these tendencies should continue to such an extent as seriously to weaken England's power and influence among the nations. No country, with the exception of the United States, is able to do so much for world progress, or to exert so

wholesome an influence in the settlement of world problems in the next few decades. To England and the United States falls the task of uplifting the standard of Anglo-Saxon civilization throughout the world, and the relations between them should be such that each will rejoice in the wholesome progress of the other. What England needs, and immediately, is for its statesmen to wake up to the real situation, both in fiscal and military matters, and for its leaders of industry thoroughly to overhaul the traditional productive methods, now becoming obsolete. Doctrinal theories must give place to practical, rationally applied principles, both of economic and military science. The army, for example, needs thorough reorganization on strictly military rather than social and political lines. This is vital, and fortunately the need of it is being more and more keenly appreciated. What is required, however, is for appreciation to grow into action, and reform cannot come too soon.

In the industrial field, if England would save its foreign markets it must do what many Englishmen are already beginning to realize, however unwelcome the fact may be—imitate American productive methods. It must ruthlessly discard its out-of-date machines and methods and make enormous investments to bring its industrial system thoroughly up to modern standards of efficiency. Here will be a field, too, for the absorption of surplus capital returned from foreign fields. Still further, if England wishes to hold its home market and still pay higher wages than are paid on the continent, there is nothing for it but to reestablish a protective policy. Germany, with cheaper labor and machinery as good as the English, if not better, will be able to command larger and larger portions of the English markets, and England's only alternatives will be to reduce wages to the continental level or put a tariff on

numerous continental imports. To reduce wages would bring on industrial strife, contraction of the home market by the lessened purchasing power of the English workingmen, and create a situation quite as serious as the invasion of foreign competition itself. The tariff solution is one to which English statesmanship, by gradual steps, will probably be forced, along with the modernization of English industrial methods.

Curiously, it is not at all improbable that one of the prominent factors in bringing about some of this reawakening of British industrial life and revision of fiscal policy will be the present innovation there of American influences. American capitalists in increasing numbers are working their way into that field, acquiring control of various English enterprises, and wherever this is consummated the introduction of American ideas and methods may be expected promptly to follow. From whatever source it comes, it is greatly to be hoped that a wholesome infusion of fresh new life, alertness and energy will make its way into English industry and politics before the empire literally falls behind in the march of the nations and loses anything of its vast power for good in the advancement of worldwide civilization.

**Current Price
Comparisons**

For Thursday, November 21st, the following wholesale prices are quoted:

	1901	1900
Flour, Minn. patent	\$3.75	\$3 95
Wheat, No. 2 red	82½	78½
Corn, No. 2 mixed	67½	46½
Oats, No. 2 mixed	46½	26½
Pork, mess	16.00	12.50
Beef, hams	19.00	17.50
Coffee, Rio No. 7	6½	7½
Sugar, granulated	4.90	5.60
Butter, creamery, extra	25	26
Cheese, State, f. c., white, small, fancy . .	10½	10½

	1901	1900
Cotton, middling upland	8	10½
Print cloths	3	3½
Petroleum, refined, in bbls	7.65	7.40
Hides, native steers	13½	12½
Leather, hemlock	24½	24
Iron, No. 1 North, foundry	16.00	15.50
Iron, No. 1 South, foundry	15.00	15.25
Tin, Straits	27.50	28.80
Copper, Lake ingot	17.00	16.75
Lead, domestic	4.37½	4.37½
Tinplate, 100 lbs., I. C., 14x20.	4.40	—
Steel rails	28.00	—
Wire nails (Pittsburg)	2.30	—

Dun's Review shows index-number aggregate prices per unit, of 350 commodities, averaged according to importance in per capita consumption, for November 1 and comparison with previous dates, as follows:

	Jan. 1, 1891.	Nov. 1, 1898.	Nov. 1, 1899.	Nov. 1, 1900.	Jan. 1, 1901.	Oct. 1, 1901.	Nov. 1, 1901.
Breadstuffs.	\$19.725	\$12.877	\$13.282	\$13.853	\$14.486	\$17.146	\$17.840
Meats	7.810	7.547	8.312	8.669	8.407	9.517	8.929
Dairy and garden	16.270	10.427	11.746	12.383	15.556	13.164	13.622
Other food	10.215	8.805	9.060	9.640	9.504	9.190	9.157
Clothing	14.135	14.161	16.243	16.012	16.024	15.279	15.342
Metals.	15.875	11.505	18.372	15.077	15.810	15.760	15.876
Miscellaneous	14.217	12.577	15.158	15.663	15.881	16.835	16.977
Total	\$98.247	\$77.899	\$92.173	\$91.297	\$95.668	\$96.891	\$97.743

Between October 21st and November 21st the rise in agricultural food products was marked. Refined sugar shows a decline, due to renewed competition, while tinplate remains stationary, although the price of pig tin used in the manufacture of plates has risen from \$25 to \$27.50.

As compared with last January, the general increase on November 1st is almost entirely chargeable to breadstuffs, which hardly indicates the kind of agricultural depression we are supposed to get, according to Bryan, under the oppressive domination of "trusts" and the gold standard.

RECIPROCITY AGITATION

In the ordinary course of events a business disturbing agitation in this country is about due. The present tariff law was adopted in 1897, and we have had nearly four years of industrial prosperity, two years of which have witnessed extraordinary industrial expansion. To the professional tariff reformer that is a disturbing circumstance. Whenever business prosperity threatens to become permanent he appears to feel a religious obligation to create an anti-tariff agitation. When business is most profitable, labor best rewarded, is apparently the time above all others when the poor are most "oppressed" and the public most "flagrantly robbed." Hence this is a most opportune time for the tariff reformer to put on his armor and insist upon calling a halt to our "great wealth getting."

The last zealous outbreak of this kind "in the interest of the oppressed" was in 1891 and 1892. The motto then was, Down with the robber tariff. This movement generally enlists very respectable people because it is conducted on the plane of "high principle," and even the havoc it creates is all produced in the interest of "justice." It may stop factories, break banks, reduce wages and create enforced idleness, but these are but the incidents of "a righteous cause." Of course at the bottom and behind this movement there is a constant nucleus which is composed of the importing interests and abstract doctrinaires. The former oppose tariff protection because they have a business interest in substituting foreign for domestic industry. The latter oppose protection because they are intellectually wedded to the abstract dogma of free trade, and hence believe that the tariff is a vicious system of favoritism and robbery. They frequently enlist the senti-

mental class, chiefly for the reason that they proclaim against the "injustice" of large capital. With them there seems to be a kind of moral virtue in denouncing the "rich man" or the "large corporation," on the principle that business success implies oppression of the poor.

In the years immediately preceding 1892, this type of reasoning was used with marvelous success. The free-trade journals, the poets, scholars and publicists joined in the movement with a zeal befitting a 12th century crusader. This was promptly taken up by the democratic party, which was starving for an issue. Among the features of the movement was the enlisting the aid of a certain number of New England manufacturers who were lured by the plea for "free raw materials." With this combination of forces, in the midst of a period of the greatest prosperity the republic had ever witnessed, the American people were induced to overthrow the protective policy. The result is too vivid in the memory of everyone to need discussing. Suffice it to say that the calamity which followed and prostrated the business and finances of the nation promptly buried the anti-tariff movement and drove its political sponsors from power throughout the country.

The present prosperity, which is not enjoyed by any other country, is largely the result of returning to the protection policy. The conditions of 1891 and 1892 are practically reproduced, but on a much larger and more successful scale. The tariff reformers are in the same position, inspired by the same motives, supported by the same reasoning, backed by the same political party which is suffering from the same hunger for office that it then experienced. Its most urgent need now as then is an issue; it cannot use the same one it employed in 1892. Free trade is no longer a name to conjure with, so the watchword is now "reciprocity."

Some remarks of ex-President McKinley on reciprocity, in his Buffalo speech, are eagerly used as justification for this movement. Having been a conspicuous and popular protectionist, Mr. McKinley's words are magnified into meaning that the republican party has become sick of the Dingley bill and is ready to make a radical departure towards an extensive increase of the free list by means of reciprocity. This has been elaborated for the benefit of all manufacturers who would like a foreign market. They are told that a treaty should be made with the country whose market they would like to enter to put some product on the free list in order that theirs may have free entrance to the coveted market.

This has already been worked with sufficient success to induce the National Association of Manufacturers of the United States to call a convention, just held in Washington, to discuss the subject of reciprocity. Thus far it is practically a repetition of the experiences of 1891 and 1892, when the New England manufacturers were induced to ask for "free raw materials." The purpose of this convention, of course, is to impress congress with the idea that the manufacturers of the United States are in favor of a liberal *regime* of reciprocity. Of course this is not asking for free trade. It is only asking for the sacrifice of some industries to promote the favored entrance of others into foreign markets. The free-trade journals are now teeming with bold and active advocacy of this reciprocity departure. Every manufacturer who favors it in the hope of getting a special advantage is quoted and egged on as a pioneer of liberal policy. Mr. George H. Barbour, manager of the Michigan Stove Company, one of the committee of arrangements for the reciprocity convention, is quoted by the New York *Times* as pointing out that:

"With Canadian reciprocity, our stove manufacturers could supply the Canadian market, from which they are excluded by a 25 per cent. Canadian duty."

In a published letter, Mr. Barbour explains that Canada could be induced to remove this 25 per cent. duty on stoves and let his firm have the Canadian market by giving Canadian products free entrance into the American market. Mr. Barbour is willing that any American product be displaced by the free entrance of Canadian products provided his stoves have the free entrance to Canada. How broad and patriotic! He is perfectly willing that other American industries be killed or mortally injured that his may fatten by the bargain. Of course this does not concern the free traders at all, because they would put them all on the free list at one stroke; and every one put on singly, no matter how, is so much gain for "the cause." But manufacturers, and people who honestly believe in a protective policy, should not be blindly lured into this trap. It would only take a few such bargains to undermine the confidence in the stability of our protective system. One serious shock to the public faith in that policy and we have an industrial depression.

Germany is already on the verge of a business depression; England is nearing the same condition; and, in fact, all Europe is in an anxious state. This country alone is enjoying permanent, buoyant prosperity. The National Association of Manufacturers would do well not to make itself responsible for a policy that in the hands of politicians would precipitate another Cleveland *regime*. Reciprocity, like protection, should be adopted only in the interest of national welfare. It is not in the interest of national prosperity to adopt a policy which shall merely promote the interest of one industry by sacrificing that of another. So far as public policy is used at all, it should be used for the de-

velopment of all domestic industry, both manufacturing and agricultural. Foreign trade, if it is acquired, should be acquired by the development of perfection and superiority in our domestic industries, so as to overcome foreign competitors by competition, but never by a special bargain that shall sacrifice or injure another domestic industry.

Before the manufacturers of this country give themselves over to this reciprocity movement they had better stop and count the cost, consider the influence, not upon the stove factories or the plow factories, but its influence upon the domestic industries of the whole country. They must remember that if favors are granted to one they must be granted to another and another and another. In fact, one concern has just as much right as another to ask the government to buy its right of free entry into some foreign market by adding its neighbor to the free list. The only logical outcome, in fairness to them all, would be to put them all on the free list, which would of course accomplish the highest ideal of those who are most ardently promoting the reciprocity movement.

The Boston Free Trade League, in its zeal for promoting reciprocity, recommends that treaties be made extending our free list to all classes of manufactured products any portion of which we now export, all kinds of so-called raw materials which are used in manufactures, like wool, hemp, flax, jute, hides, furs, hair, lumber, wood pulp, salt, chemicals, paints, oils, etc., and all animal and agricultural products, including sugar, and finally recommends that "the import duty on all manufactured goods be reduced 40 per cent. now and 10 per cent. annually until the United States takes its rightful place as the great free-trade nation."

Of course this last is somewhat indiscreet, since it shows the real purpose of those now so zealously advo-

cating reciprocity in the interest of our domestic industries. Before the people of this country commit themselves to a business-disturbing agitation on this question, in the name of reciprocity, it would be well for congressmen to pay some attention to our experience in this direction. If the subject were frankly presented as a movement to revise our tariff and pare down our protective policy, there would be little danger from it, because the people would promptly relegate it to the rear. The American people to-day would refuse to consider any such business-threatening proposition as a free trade or tariff for revenue experiment. The term reciprocity, however, is a taking phrase. When it is presented in the interest of American industries to promote our foreign trade, "by reciprocal relations beneficial to both," the subject assumes a plausible seeming. In the hands of the enemies of protection such a propaganda may easily be made a cover for a dangerous innovation into our protective policy, and before we are aware of it deal a mortal blow to our national prosperity.

We have had several experiments with reciprocity treaties, covering the greater part of the period since 1856, and in a majority of instances the result has been to increase our imports to a very much greater extent than our exports. Comparing the exports in the last year before the treaty with the last year under the treaty, we find, for instance, that under our treaty with Germany, 1892-1894, our annual exports to that country diminished \$438,293, whereas, after the treaty was discontinued, 1895-1898, our annual exports increased \$62,986,219, and under the treaty of 1900 to the present time they have only increased \$36,008,248. Under the treaty with Austria-Hungary, 1892-1894, our annual exports fell off \$783,574, while during the three years after the treaty, 1895-1898, they increased \$3,572,140.

During the three years preceding our treaty with Canada our annual exports to that country increased \$20,572,442. During the three years under the treaty our exports fell off \$718,497, and our annual imports from Canada increased \$39,349,187. During the three years after the treaty our annual exports to Canada again increased \$1,668,573.

If we take all the treaties together that we have made since 1850, and compare the exports under the treaties with the exports to the same countries for the same period before the treaties, we find that instead of the exports being increased by the treaties they were less under the treaties than before the treaties were made. The increase under the treaties was \$80,823,553, whereas the increase of exports to the same countries during an equal period just before the treaties was \$156,771,642. In other words, our exports increased nearly twice as fast before we had the treaties as they did under the treaties. And this takes no account of the normal increase of trade, which should have shown a greater export trade during the treaty period than the years preceding.

It is quite clear from our reciprocity experience that the industrial progress of this country is not due to the reciprocity bargains we have made extending the free list to other countries, but to the preservation of our home market for our domestic industries. And we shall do well to ponder carefully and move slowly towards any proposition to swap American markets for foreign markets by such arrangements, and, above all, to be lured into the undermining of our protective system under the guise and in the name of reciprocity.

Just as we go to press comes the text of the resolutions adopted by the reciprocity convention in Washington. They furnish encouraging evidence that, after

all, American manufacturers are beginning to realize the danger to industrial prosperity involved in this sudden craze for "reciprocity." What the free-traders hoped would be the first move in a wholesale assault on our protective system, within the camp of its friends, has yielded only a most guarded endorsement of reciprocity as a general policy, and put all the emphasis on maintaining in all its integrity "the principle of protection for the home market." We quote the significant portion of the resolutions:

"Whereas, the growth of manufactures in the United States, represented in values and in round numbers, has been as follows: 1850, \$1,000,000,000; 1860, \$2,000,000,000; 1870, \$4,000,000,000; 1880, \$5,500,000,000; 1890, \$9,000,000,000; 1900, \$15,000,000,000;

"And whereas, These figures exhibit at the same time (1) a splendid result for the past industrial policies of our government, and (2) a growing need for the development of larger markets in foreign countries;

"And whereas, It would seem desirable not only to maintain policies under which such splendid results have been accomplished, but also devise means to develop increased markets for the increased and increasing manufactured products,

"Therefore, be it resolved:

"First—That this convention recommends to congress the maintenance of the principle of protection for the home market, and to open up by reciprocity opportunities for increased foreign trade by special modifications of the tariff, in special cases, only where it can be done without injury to any of our home interests of manufacturing, commerce or farming.

Second—That in order to ascertain the influence of any proposed treaty on our home interests, this convention recommends to congress the establishment of a reciprocity commission which shall be charged with the duty of investigating the condition of any industry and reporting the same to the executive and to congress, for guidance in negotiating reciprocal trade agreements."

The work of this convention, as well as the experience of the United States under former reciprocity experiments, and the entire relation of reciprocity to our protective system, are discussed in full in the *Lecture Bulletin* for December 2d. The subject of the lecture is "Our Industrial Foreign Policy."

CAN EDUCATION RESTORE WHAT CITY LIFE HAS LOST ?

CHARLES DE GARMO, PH.D.

There is a large and often permanent loss of educative influences involved in the change from rural to urban life. The program of education in America before the rise of large cities consisted of two parts: first, training in muscular power and practical efficiency through variegated labor, and, second, discipline of the mind through drill in mastering the tools of knowledge as represented in reading, writing, arithmetic and grammar. To these we may add healthful and almost unrestricted opportunities for such play as a strenuous life permitted.

An urban community is likely to overlook the educational value of richly variegated labor. Not a little of the versatility, the individual initiative, the aggressiveness and general efficiency of the urban business or professional man has been due to the early discipline of farm life.

When we add to all this the training that comes from managing farm animals and tools, from overcoming extraordinary difficulties in field and forest, from dogged persistence in work, beginning before the rise and ending only after the setting of the sun, we may appreciate to some extent the perfect coordination of muscle and mind effected by such labor, and understand the fertility of resource and the dogged persistence in the accomplishment of ends that such labor produces. Furthermore, among thrifty farmers, where pleasures were simple but hearty, where food was good and abundant, the nerves of the young were steady, the brain was clear, even if not especially active, and the

digestion was perfect. All life, in short, though uneventful, was at least wholesome and in a large measure educative in the highest sense.

What educative influences do our children lose when we become denizens of a large city? At least three important ones; viz., work, variety in work, and opportunity to play.

The children of the poor are not allowed to work steadily until they have passed through the elementary school, usually not before the age of fourteen, while the children of the well-to-do never work at all until they have finished the high school and in many cases even the college itself. Such children are mostly lacking in the deftness of hand and the readiness of invention that characterized their fathers. Their nerves are often unsteady, the coordination of muscle and mind is imperfect, while their digestion has to be regulated by tablets. Often their minds are overstimulated by exciting books or theaters or other forms of intensive life. The girls easily and early tend toward nervous prostration; while the boys, especially if they fall into vice, become blasé at an early age, and in general fail to manifest the virility of their progenitors.

Even when the period of steady labor arrives, the city boy lacks the variety that gave vitality to the country lad. Industries are now highly differentiated, so that one workman is usually called upon to do but a single kind of work for long stretches of time. Compare the man who made a whole watch with the man who now tends the machines that turn the pivots. The mental life, once stimulated by labor, must in the main now find its stimulus outside of labor. Certain qualities of endurance and persistence will always be stimulated by continuous work, but under modern urban conditions labor lacks much of the old educative value.

A modern high-school lad when told that he lacked

the discipline that comes from variegated work, replied, "What's the odds, so you are strong?" To a certain extent he was right in his reply; for, a prominent member of a football eleven, and an all-round athlete in a boyish way, he had gained a certain efficiency not unlike that of the country boy of the same age. But city children have for the most part lost the opportunity to play. In the older cities in Germany the children have forgotten how to play, that is, have racially forgotten. Their idea of a recess is a promenade over the cobble stones of a school yard, while munching black bread and wurst. Our city children are fast approaching a like condition. The most pitiful sight in the city to one accustomed to the open country is the pathetic effort of children to play in a narrow, crowded street. To play a vigorous game is to risk life, to obstruct the walks or break the windows, while to wrestle on the pavement is to break the bones. The thumb in a game of marbles is about the only organ that is afforded unchecked exercise. Were it not for the annual summer excursions to country, mountain and sea shore, made by wealthy families, the city boy would be in danger of finding many of his important organs almost as useless as the vermiform appendix.

The question this paper proposes to examine is whether education can in whole or in part make up to the child for the loss of wholesome educational influences that ensued when his parents or grandparents became residents of a city. First of all we need to examine the adequacy of city schools to this end as at present conducted.

The modern city child has much more time for school than his predecessor in rural life had. Formerly a boy attended school three or four months of the year, and was employed mostly at out-of-door labor the remainder of the time. The city boy is in school from

nine to ten months each year. The country lad had many chores to do night and morning, even when he went to school, but the city boy having no physical work to do is sent home with a lot of school tasks which abridge his daylight recreation and infringe on his hours for indoor amusement or sleep.

Again, when life was furnishing the major part of education in healthful, mind-stimulating labor, the school perhaps did well to confine its brief labors to routine work in mastering the elementary tools of knowledge. Then children learned to read, but they seldom read anything; they learned to write and spell and parse, but they made little or no use of these accomplishments, except in the rare cases when the lad went to college. It might be supposed that now, when the school commands, not a bare fraction, but practically the whole of the time of the children for years, it would do much more than enable them to acquire the tools of knowledge. To a certain extent it does, for children now read during a portion of the time they formerly used in work or play. They get a smattering, too, of history and geography. But, on the whole, if we ask what the school is doing for the urban child under modern conditions, we must answer, though with slight modification, it is merely doing more of what it used to do, when life itself was the larger part of education.

It is told of the late Dr. McCosh of Princeton that his recourse, when any student questioned one of his statements in the philosophy class, was to make the same statement over again, only louder. So, if we inquire what the new education of the city is, we must answer, it is just what the old was, only there is more of it.

A few facts will help to explain why the school has remained practically unchanged, though outside influ-

ences have been totally altered. In the first place, we have thought ourselves unable to pay the salaries necessary to secure strong men, and have in consequence feminized the school; that is, when we have needed a strong, virile influence to make good to the urban boy and girl the loss of labor in their training, we selected as his teacher one from the sex least able to supply such an influence. Outside the largest cities, no men teach in elementary schools, while even in high schools, the number of men teachers is constantly decreasing. In New York state only about one-third of the high school teachers are men. The money prizes are too small to induce men to abandon those callings and professions that fascinate the strong man, giving him a field for the exercise of his limitless energy and ambition. Not until the opportunity for men of enterprise becomes much less than it is shall we find Americans devoting themselves to education at the pittance paid to German men teachers, or now paid to our women teachers.

The following table, compiled from Vaile's directories, shows at a glance how the higher positions, namely, those of superintendent and principal, are paid :

	Ill.	Ind.	Wis.	Mich.	N.Y.
1. \$3,000, upward . . .	23	2	1	3	41
2. 2,000 to \$2,900 . .	128	12	8	18	53
3. 1,000 to 1,900 . .	252	118	218	157	447
4. Below \$1,000 . . .	926	754	403	418	769

Of the twenty-three higher salaries for men in Illinois all but one are paid in Chicago, while thirty-four of the forty-one higher salaries in New York State are paid in Greater New York.

It will be seen, moreover, that more than two-thirds of all the male principals and superintendents of these states are teaching for less than \$1,000 a year, or

for a sum too small for the support of a family; also that the number of places paying \$3,000 and upward is very small. In these five states over 25,000 men are teaching. The average monthly salary is probably about \$50. It is safe to say that no other learned profession, unless perhaps the ministry, has so few money prizes as teaching in the public schools. Only $6\frac{2}{3}$ per cent. of the whole number receive as much as \$1,000 a year.

Again, not only do we employ women mostly as teachers, but we hire so few of them that only those forms of education that can be made successful by mass teaching have any considerable chance of being made really educational. But it is precisely the old drill in reading, spelling, writing, arithmetic and grammar that yields the best results in mass work. They call for much memory, but demand little individual thinking. One teacher can keep many pupils busy in spelling and writing words, in solving problems and diagramming sentences, but where classes number from 35 to 60, as they do, a study that demands individual thought and guidance in the case of each pupil has small chance of being successfully taught. Then, the teachers being too few and the instruction merely mass drill, each teacher is assigned to a certain drill area, called a grade, and the superintendent and principal are devised to set the examinations, locate the teachers, make the outline for the drill, called by courtesy the course of study, manage the educational politics and draw the only decent salaries.

From the foregoing considerations it is very evident that education as now conducted does not restore what life has lost in educational influence. The city boy or girl is probably as well educated as present conditions will allow, but city conditions should change as much in the educational field as they have changed in

that of business. Any city that is rich enough to build palaces for dwelling and business purposes, to afford pavements and streets that neither frost nor heat, rain nor traffic can destroy, to make midnight seem as mid-day, is able to raise its expenditures for education to a point where it is possible to give the children a training that will enable body and brain to withstand the abnormal strains of city life, and to keep alive those traits of character that have made our nation in the past strong to endure and to achieve.

The ideal city education will maintain a just balance between intellectual and practical or motor phases of life. At present it is all intellectual or sensory, not at all motor or practical. It was the farm that formerly supplied the motor training; now, when there is ten-fold need of such training, it is forgotten. Furthermore, urban education should cultivate more effectively social disposition and efficiency; but both of these involve a lessening of the former drill, and an increase of the study and exercises that give social insight and cultivate social efficiency. The first requisite for such a new education as will conserve old powers is that there be teachers enough for the individual to be taught in a group small enough to secure his best development of mind and muscle. No teacher should have more than twenty pupils. This will indeed double the number of teachers, but it will at the same time secure for each child the indispensable requisites for his survival and his highest efficiency in life.

The second essential requisite of such education is that the proper appliances for motor and intellectual training be provided in abundance. This will mean somewhat more room and considerably more inexpensive apparatus.

The third requisite is time and opportunity for free, vigorous and spontaneous play. The English

manage to keep up a high state of virility among their upper classes, very largely through school games. What has proved so life-giving for character and efficiency among a class whose luxuries would naturally tend to degeneration teaches a lesson to modern urban communities where almost every influence, unless counteracted, tends toward degeneration in health and motor capacity, even if not in morals.

The school cannot, it is true, furnish the experience of farm or factory, but it can do better than either, in that it can grade its motor exercises to their highest educative value. The milking of cows can be educative for a few months, or until all its phases are mastered, but it can hardly be more educative when continued through life. So of every phase of industrial life. It soon passes its limit of usefulness, soon comes to a point where it ceases to be education and becomes drudgery.

The school, happily, has control of experience, which it can press to its highest point of usefulness, but never suffer to lead to arrested development. It can introduce even at the earliest moment motor exercises that have all the stimulating power of real situations in life, for they, too, are real. In the kindergarten grades of Dr. Dewey's school in Chicago, for instance, children three or four years of age have lessons in cooking, and actually cook food that they and their friends eat as a part of their daily subsistence. Beginning at this tender age the children, in groups of ten or a dozen, are led year after year through well-graded exercises in cooking and sewing for the girls, shop-work for the boys, and textile and other industries for both, all of which are intimately related in the minds of the children to the past and present of these activities in the community, and all likewise serving as means for the mastery of number and language.

Outside of mere memoriter drill one may fairly say

that intellectual absorption is the chief thing expected of the modern urban child. His attitude is that of a listener; he is a being to receive impressions; he must store his mind with facts deemed important by his teachers. This practice has its genesis in the formal instruction of primitive times, but it is fixed upon the modern urban school by the conditions above described. Professor James, of Harvard, very truly tells us that education should not pre-suppose mere passivity on the part of the child, but that there should be no impression without corresponding expression. That is, education must be motor and active as well as sensory and passive. Some interpret this saying as meaning that the child should talk more; in other words that the tongue should, aside from the forefinger, be the chief motor organ exercised. Few will, indeed, deny the educative value of language; but when we come to a city child, who is subjected to influences tending to weaken his whole nervous system and to atrophy many of his most important physical powers, we may safely put a broader interpretation upon Professor James's dictum. The whole being, both mental and muscular, should be actively enlisted in his education. The school period should be regarded quite as much a part of life as a preparation for life subsequent to that period. Each new day should set its new problems, which in turn should incite thinking to solve them.

Thinking *in vacuo* is hard work; thinking in the concrete is a delight. In real life there is always a motive, an end to be reached, a problem to be solved. Thought is generated and applied in one act. In ordinary so-called school thinking, however, we cause years to intervene between the genesis of the thought and its application. We have the storage battery idea, whereby the youth stores up in school mental power to use in manhood. Such figures are delusive. The mind of

youth refuses to be a storage battery for manhood. It is rather an organism that, like a tree, continues to grow, each year being one of real life as well as one of preparation for future life.

The answer, then, to the question "Can education restore what life has lost to the urban child?" is: "Yes, it can, through a two-fold blending; first, of vital and formal knowledge, and, second, of intellectual and motor powers."

The school of the future will not content itself with a formal drill upon the tools of knowledge, but will add thereto a real knowledge of nature and man, while the former will emerge as a requisite for the mastery of the real. The school of the future urban community will not content itself with pouring knowledge into the pupil as a passive recipient, but it will arouse all his native energy by offering him a complete and blended expression of his active intellectual and motor powers through a long series of occupations. These occupations will embrace extended exercises in all respects of manual training, cooking, sewing, textile industry, drawing, music, and, later, laboratory practice in the sciences. They will furnish a complete coördination of motor and sensory powers, and coupled with well-blended, concrete and formal intellectual knowledge, will send the child forth from the school as from one phase of life to another, healthy and vigorous in body, clear in thought and ready in execution. Then the whole boy will be educated, and not, as now, but half of him. Then the denizen of the city may enjoy all its manifold advantages with the assurance that neither he nor his descendants will be sacrificing the best half of the heritage that came from a rural ancestry.

THE CUBAN PROBLEM

L. V. DE ABAD*

Proudhon said that at the bottom of every political question lies an economic question. This statement, as a whole, seems exaggerated; but it is not. It cannot be denied that the economic factor always intensifies and complicates any political problem. This is exactly what happened in Cuba under the Spanish domination. Spain did not afford a sufficient market to absorb the whole production of the colony, nor could she produce, under the proper conditions of quality and price, all that the colony consumed. Still, she insisted in creating by artificial means commercial advantages not shared by other countries, and went so far as to resort to the anomaly of taking wheat from the United States to her own ports, turning it into flour and sending it back again to Cuba as a Spanish product. What is more, she bought flour by the barrel in this country, shipped it to the nearest Spanish port, and by the same steamer sent it to Cuba as a domestic commodity, without even taking the trouble to scratch the western marks from the barrels. Thus did the errors of the Madrid government contribute in no small measure to the dissatisfaction of Cuba, and helped produce the present political situation.

Cuba's political problem has been solved by putting the island under the influence, or, better still, the control of the United States. This is so because the prodigious commercial development and progress achieved under the Spanish regime was due largely to the fact that the island, from the day that the American nation

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was constituted, was within the reach of the United States and practically outside of the influence of the Spanish nation. There may be degrees in the efficiency of the American control; many details may be modified, but there is no reason to believe that the island will ever be an entirely independent country like Colombia or Costa Rica, or that she will ever be permitted to unite her destinies to those of any other nation but the United States.

It must not be overlooked that American statesmen ever since 1809 have considered Cuba as a geographical appendix of the southern section of the republic, likely some time to become a part of the American union. Upon this policy they have always acted in the treatment of international questions relating to the island, and at the Panama congress in 1826 the United States acted in such a way as to make it impossible for the island of Cuba to be an independent nation or become a part of any Spanish-American state. Spain, on several occasions, was given assurance that she might retain possession of the island, and the principle was proclaimed from the beginning that "whenever it would become impossible for Cuba to remain any longer under the Spanish flag, that day she would definitely join this republic." In 1823 Mr. Jefferson, in a letter to President Monroe, dated June 23d, said: "The truth is that the addition of Cuba to our union is just what is wanted to make our power, as a nation, of the greatest interest." This is proved in 1901 to have been prophetic. Such was the point of view from which the committee of foreign affairs of the house of representatives of the United States considered the question in 1826, when discussing and recognizing in the congress of Panama the paramount importance that the intended invasion of Cuba might have for this country. "The Morro Castle can be considered as a fortress at the

mouth of the Mississippi," said the committee in an official document.

Those who know what has been the policy pursued by the United States in this matter during almost a century cannot have any misapprehension as to the true meaning of the so-called "Platt amendment," adopted by the last congress to settle the relations between Cuba and the United States, and approved by the president. The island is to-day a military department of the United States, and its government is administered in the last resort by the president as commander-in-chief of the army of the United States through the war department in Washington. The rest will come in due time. For this reason we say that the political problem of Cuba has already been solved, and that whatever is to be done hereafter, in this line, is unimportant.

But the economic problem is still to be solved, and all the skill and attention, as well as the good will, of the statesmen of this country, whose honor is at stake in this matter, will be required to solve it properly and restore prosperity to the island. The optimism of the official reports is not sufficient to convince the people, who know the truth and can discriminate between things which are really *de jure* and those which are really *de facto*.

The slight improvement brought about at the close of the war proves nothing in favor of the methods employed by the Americans regarding economic matters in the island of Cuba. Had the Turks instead of the Americans succeeded the Spaniards, the simple fact that Cuba had passed from a state of war into a state of peace would have been sufficient to revive business and cause the island to pick up somewhat. Every country is bound to live, and whatever activity which existed in it and was paralyzed by war comes back

again when peace is restored. The statement that the present condition of Cuba does not compare favorably with the condition which existed there under the Spanish flag, in spite of the many deficiencies of the politico-economic system prevailing at the time, may wound the pride of the American people, but nevertheless it is based upon facts and figures which admit of no discussion.

Even if the island were under American control, what it was in former days, it could be said with reason that, from the viewpoint of commercial prosperity, the United States has not done all that was naturally expected. Considering the great market, the wonderful enterprise and the spirit of progress in the great republic, that country was bound to do better than Spain.

In the eighteenth century, an English minister of state defending himself in the parliament against charges from the opposition, said: "We have done neither worse nor better than our opponents;" to which one of the opposition replied: "If you did not come to do better than we, why then did you come at all and put us down?"

There is no doubt that the United States can do better by Cuba than Spain; but in that case it will be necessary for the government at Washington to formulate a liberal Cuban policy, and earnestly apply it.

It will be necessary to abolish the present tariff and replace it by another equally favorable to the interests of the United States and Cuba. As is shown by the official statistics, the imports from European markets in Cuba are increasing every day, while the American imports decrease or remain stationary.

The value of the imports from the United States to Cuba was:

In 1899.....	\$36,773,657
In 1900.....	32,197,019
Decrease.....	<u>\$ 4,576,638</u>

During the period of eight months ending in February, 1901, compared with the corresponding period of the previous year, the proportion of the American imports to Cuba was as follows:

Eight months ending February, 1900 . . .	\$24,415,649
“ “ “ 1901 . . .	19,050,457
Decrease.....	\$ 5,365,192

On the contrary, the value of the combined imports from England and Germany into Cuba in the same period was:

In 1899.....	\$11,855,915
In 1900.....	13,446,104
Increase.....	\$ 1,590,189

To illustrate this point, and demonstrate how the Spanish-American war instead of favoring the commerce of the United States with Cuba has helped the commercial interest of certain European countries, it will be enough to state that in 1895 (three years before the war) the exports from Germany and Great Britain into Cuba had reached only *one-third of the exports of 1900*.

In regard to Cuban exports, the duties which they have to pay in the United States are so high that the Cuban producers derive only an insignificant profit, if any. If the Cubans continue to do business under these circumstances, it is simply in the hope that better times will come. The American policy in this matter has been a great disappointment to the Cubans. Their dissatisfaction with Spain, so far as the sugar question is concerned, was not because Spain refused to reduce the import duties which she levied on Cuban sugar, but because she refused to make arrangements with the United States beneficial to Cuban commerce and industries. Had Spain abolished those duties no relief would

have been experienced by the Cubans, for they produced one million tons of sugar, while Spain consumed only one hundred thousand tons.

This explains why nobody ever tried to have Cuban products admitted free into Spain; and although the Spanish merchandise paid no duty, or a very light one, in Cuba, the Cuban people always claimed that the natural market of the island was the United States.

It will be of interest to read what the Association of Planters and Agriculturists of Havana said to the Madrid government in 1895, just before the revolution broke out:

“Near the coasts of Cuba arises the great republic of North America; its already immense and still increasing market is almost the only one that consumes the sugar production of this island. Within its vast territory all the articles of commercial exchange needed for the prosperity of Cuba are raised or produced. As a consequence, close commercial relations must be necessarily established between Cuba and the United States. To pretend otherwise is to ignore the force of that economic law springing out of the proximity of buyer to seller and of seller to buyer, determined, as in the present case, by nature herself, in fixing the geographical positions and climatic conditions of the two countries. The great interests of Cuba therefore demand that the government must change the policy of charging the highest rates of duties on American products, because a tariff war with the United States might end in the immediate ruin of this island, from the impossibility of exporting its products to that market. The government must commence tariff reform at once, charging all foreign productions alike, with reasonable protection to the products of the mother country.”—Consular Reports, No. 172, January, 1895, “Sugar Industry of Cuba.”

The above, which was true in 1895, is still true in

1901, for although the political status of the island of Cuba has changed, its physical and economic conditions have not undergone any change. The growers and agriculturists were opposed to the "highest rates of duties on *American products*." Why? Because "*a tariff war* with the United States might end in the immediate ruin of the island, from the impossibility of exporting its products to *that market*." The opposition to the reduction of duties on American imports did not originate, as it can be seen, in Cuba, but in Spain, for the reason that she was unwilling to lose the large revenue derived by her through these import duties, and because she looked with jealousy at the commercial expansion between her colony and this nation. Now, Spain is out of the way, and the United States, which used to complain of the high duties levied in Cuba on its products, hastened to reduce them as soon as the military occupation of the island began. If, when Cuba was under Spanish rule the United States was willing, in order to secure that reduction of duties, to grant similar concessions to Cuban products when imported in the United States, why not grant such reduction now? The island needs this relief to-day just as much as she needed it in 1895, and perhaps much more, because she has gone through a devastating war.

Many estates have been destroyed, and those which escaped ruin are mortgaged; these mortgages, according to official statistics published in March, 1900, amount to two hundred and seven millions of dollars. At the present low price of sugar—not likely to be greatly advanced—and with the heavy cost of production in the island, the planters will be enabled to restore their prosperity only by allowing them a large margin of profit. To-day many estates do not meet their expenses, and the best ones yield only a limited profit.

The revival of the sugar industry cannot be secured under the present tariff system, which is simply "abominable," according to the opinion of its author, Mr. Robert P. Porter, who, in a report published by the *New York Times* of February 15th, 1901, stated:

"Cuba can only be placed in a prosperous economical condition by a treaty or convention with the United States that will give her planters an advantage almost equivalent to that given Porto Rico. The existing tariff relations—although I am in a measure personally responsible for them—are abominable and cannot exist long without Cuba rapidly growing away from the United States, and the commercial interests of the United States as rapidly becoming indifferent to Cuba. Existing tariffs give Cuba no advantage in our market nor the United States any advantage in the Cuban market. While commercially our relations with Cuba are the same as with Russia or with Spain, we are governing the island, deciding the rates of customs duty, collecting the revenues, valuing the merchandise, classifying the imports, and running the machine. If, when we took possession, we had said fifty per cent. off for all Cuban products imported into the United States, the two countries would have been nearer together now. Radical as this looks, the McKinley reciprocity treaty with Cuba of 1890 established relations nearer to free trade."

There is no substantial difference between Mr. Porter's programme and the wishes of the Cuban growers. The latter quite agree with Mr. Porter that a special customs agreement is needed between the United States and Cuba. It is not necessary to resort to *free trade*, as has been the case with Porto Rico, nor can the rate of fifty per cent. be fixed as a basis for the reduction of duties both here and in the island, as Mr. Porter suggests. It will be necessary to study the tariff

article by article, and decide in each case what is the duty most adequate to harmonize the interests of both countries. There may be some cases in which fifty per cent. will be too much, while it may be too little in some others.

Cuba does not aspire to secure the American market through a radical and sudden reduction of duties, capable of disturbing the regular condition of that market. A reasonable limit can be fixed for both increase and reduction.

A special reduction, wisely made, in the Cuban tariff in favor of American products would secure the Cuban market to American exports. The merchant in buying is not inspired by political sympathies or platonic sentimentalism. In making out his order he simply takes into consideration the price of the goods and the freight and duty which he has to pay. Therefore, and for the very same reason which induced Cuban merchants under the Spanish rule to buy from Spain most of what they needed, they would now, if the present Cuban tariff should be based on a principle of reciprocity with the United States, buy in the United States many articles which they are buying at present from England, Germany, etc.

Cuba desires a place in the American market, not as a favor, but in consideration of the good and sound money which she is ready to pay for it. The more she gets for her sugar and tobacco the more she can invest in machinery, food, shoes and thousands of articles that she wants and the United States produces. Superficial people complain that American exports to Cuba have not been larger since the island ceased to be Spanish and the import duties on American products were reduced. What kind of increase in imports could be expected in a country which had been ruined by war, and whose exports had dropped from 1,000,000

tons of sugar to 200,000 tons? Let Cuba sell more, and she will have then money to buy more. For this, we say again, she does not need *free trade*. Free trade would be not less ruinous for Cuba than for the United States, both economically and financially. Economically, because there might happen to Cuban tobacco what has just happened to Porto Rico coffee; and financially, because her revenues would not meet the expenses of her government. She needs a custom tariff which, while being moderate, would yield sufficient revenue to meet her expenses.

Cuba does not expect that her sugar and tobacco will replace the sugar and tobacco of the United States. The latter does not produce either of these articles in the quantity required for domestic consumption; and so it is that large quantities of both articles which are produced in Cuba are needed. The United States consumed in 1898, 393 million pounds of tobacco, and imported from Cuba only 4,696,000 pounds, viz.: only 1.2 per cent. of Cuban tobacco enters the United States in competition with Pennsylvania or Connecticut tobacco. Havana cigars, like champagne, stand on their merits, and the consumption of champagne, no matter how low the duty levied on it, will never compete with Kentucky whiskey or St. Louis beer. It is to the interest of the American tobacco industry to secure Cuban leaf at a low price, in order to mix it with the domestic leaf and improve the manufactured article.

In reference to the American sugar industry the case can be clearly presented. The United States, after so many years of decided protection, under which many other industries which had a natural existence have developed in a fabulous manner, had a sugar production in 1899 as follows:

Cane sugar.....	248,000 tons.
Beet sugar.....	72,944 “
Maple sugar.....	5,000 “

The consumption in the same period was 2,100,000 tons. Both the cane and maple sugar production has diminished. As to beet sugar, its production in 1895 was 30,000 tons.* In five years the whole increase was represented by only 40,000 tons—the production of two mills in Cuba. The consumption is increasing prodigiously, still it does not reach three-quarters of the consumption, per capita, of Great Britain. All this proves that there is a market in this country for the whole Cuban production, without injuring American interests. Since the duty is to remain and will only be reduced in favor of a territory under the jurisdiction of the United States the market price will not suffer.

From the above stated facts it must be concluded that the solution of the Cuban-American problem depends upon a prompt commercial or custom arrangement, by which Cuba as well as the United States shall be equally benefited. It is plain that the initiative in this matter must be taken by the United States.

No commercial treaty can be concluded between two countries politically situated as are Cuba and the United States. But an arrangement like the one suggested can be reached very easily through legislation, without resorting to diplomatic action of any kind. The congress of the United States must do something for Cuba; it can do it easily, and must do it quickly. The congress of the United States can make special concessions to Cuba under the character of provisional assistance, admitting its products into the United States with a customs reduction under the basis of reciprocity. Under a *modus vivendi* of this kind the reasonable aspirations of the Cubans will harmonize with the material and political interests of the United States.

*In 1900-1901 the beet sugar production in the United States amounted to about 86,000 tons; the gain since 1895 being 56,000 tons, or almost 200 per cent.

NEW MUNICIPAL POLICY

The speeches of Mayor-elect Low and his fusion colleagues at the recent City Club banquet fully justify the confidence the people expressed in the election of November 5th. It has heretofore been the custom for newly elected city officials to give their first and profound attention to dividing the spoils of office among the political workers responsible for the result. The question of improving the public policy of the administration and better promoting the vital interests of the city are entirely subordinated to the idea of rewarding the workers by a distribution of patronage. In view of this, Mr. Low's speech at the City Club banquet is almost a startling departure from established custom. It announced a new policy in municipal administration; it changed the point of view of responsibility of public officials by announcing that the first and last consideration in every phase of administrative policy and the appointments to office is the promotion of the public welfare of the city.

This is something new in political policy, and especially in New York. Even under the most favorable circumstances and with fairly clean motives, it is usually regarded as legitimate to divide the emoluments of office among the different elements which contribute to the success in some proportion to the service they rendered. When different organizations unite in the success of an election, it is commonly regarded as good political ethics to reward each organization according to its quota of votes; those which furnish the larger portion of course claiming and receiving the most conspicuous and influential offices—offices that yield the greatest opportunity for revenue and appointments.

This is the reaction in which fusion movements

usually go to pieces. They seldom last for more than one campaign. However united they may be before election, they usually disintegrate afterwards, because they cannot agree on the division of the rewards.

This was conspicuously the case with the last reform administration in New York city when Mayor Strong was elected by a fusion of forces. Every group which joined in the election demanded the cream of the offices. Because personally the mayor was a republican and the republican party contributed a great majority of the votes, the organization demanded the right practically to dictate the policy and appointments of the administration. The mayor refused to surrender to the dictates of the republican organization, under the leadership of Mr. Platt and his lieutenants, hence instead of cooperating with and sustaining the efforts of the administration they became its nagging enemy, creating distrust and disintegration, which made Tammany's return to power easy.

The fusion which won the victory in New York city on November 5th was of a different kind. It was a fusion of parties without stipulation of rewards. It was practically making all the anti-Tammany forces of the city into one municipal party. The result justified the effort, and the people of the whole country, as well as of the city of New York, are rejoicing over the wisdom and patriotism of this long desired action. Whether the republican organization and the other organizations will continue to live up to this new fusion standard in municipal action remains to be seen. If they do, Tammany is forever banished from the control of New York city government, and the high standard set by this election will be established for all future administrations, not only for New York city, but in effect for the municipal governments throughout the country.

In his speech at the banquet, Mr. Low very properly assumed that the fusion was made in good faith and will be a permanent feature in municipal action. He put the public seal upon the non-partisanship of the movement and the new administration by declaring that:

"The future of this movement is bound up for good or ill with the success of the administration that is about to begin. I do not believe that that administration can be made successful by any use of patronage, however skillful. If it is to be permanently useful to the city, this administration from top to bottom and from first to last must be wholly consecrated to the service of the city as its single servant. That being my feeling, and that being my interpretation of the platform upon which we have been elected, it goes without saying that no organization and no man has any claim for this position or for that. The city's interest is the sole consideration that can be allowed to decide."

This is a new standard for municipal administration. Never before in any such clear emphatic sense, supported by all the elected officers of the administration, was municipal policy elevated to so high a plane. In this Mr. Low spoke not alone for himself but voiced the sentiments of all his colleagues, as was shown by their speeches which followed. Nor was this said in any small, fanatical sense. It did not imply, as is sometimes the case, that political activity is necessarily an offence to be punished rather than a virtue to be rewarded; it did not imply that the new administration will look with suspicion and distrust and regard as unfit for office those who take a prominent part in political work, but it meant that first and finally the test of appointment shall be fitness for office, capacity and integrity. This Mr. Low made clear by saying:

"I do not mean by that statement that I propose to lean backward and to select the enemies of this community to carry it on; I expect to find my assistants among the friends of the movement that has been successful. Neither do I mean that it shall be an objection to any man, large or small, that he has been prominently identified with the political organization or with the successful canvass just finished. I mean simply what I say, that such men, like all others, must win their appoint-

ments, if they receive appointments, upon their manifest fitness for the work they have to do. But I say, with equal frankness, that when I can find fitness combined with active participation in the successful campaign in this organization, and its conduct, and its management, it will add to my pleasure in making such an appointment."

In further outlining the policy of the incoming administration, Mr. Low boldly burned his bridges behind him and declared:

"I shall feel myself ashamed if when this government is fully organized it does not appear to be representative of all the elements that make up the bone and sinew of the city. It must fairly represent the different races and the different creeds, the different points of view which are natural to men of different upbringing, because I take it that no government can hope to be largely successful and permanently helpful to a city that is built upon a single party. It must be catholic enough in its composition to make all the people who have created it feel that it is their government and that they have had something to do in giving it its success. . . . What Colonel Waring did in one department we shall strive to do in many. If Warings were more abundant, I should say we shall strive to do it in all, but at least we shall try to set up a standard by which future administrations must be judged, whether they want to or not. . . . If the New York of to-morrow is to be a place where men can live safely and a city to which men can point with pride, the children of to-day must have good schools and enough of them, and they must have teachers. They must have playgrounds somewhat better than the crowded streets, and they must have dwellings to live in that are something better than death-traps."

This is good sense as well as eminently sound doctrine in public administration. It is entirely free from the finicky, unpractical elements which so often characterize political reforms. It is loaded with the sense born of practical experience. It is carrying into the administration the same practical judgment that one would exercise in the administration of his own affairs. It is an admirable combination of statesmanship and business sense. An administration conducted on that basis is sure to succeed, and, if sustained by the political organizations in good faith, it will establish a silent but efficient revolution in the whole method of municipal administration.

FAILURE OF THE RUSKIN COLONY

WALTER G. DAVIS

Ruskin—what fine irony in the name!—that collection of unpainted, weather-battered, story-and-a-half cabins down in Georgia, near the Florida line and the Okifenokee swamp, the homes of those who for seven years have been trying to prove to the world that the communal life was practicable and that it was better than the each-one-for-himself existence of modern society—on Sept. 5 was sold out by the sheriff. Ruskin, after an heroic and at times desperate struggle, has gone the way of Brook Farm, Hopedale, Zoar, and other greater and lesser similar experiments by the followers of Owen and Fourier in this country.

Only four years ago the president of the Ruskin Cooperative Association, which was then at the zenith of its success in Cave Mills, Tenn., was assuring newspaper interviewers that Ruskin had “passed the experimental stage.” Yet at that very time legal proceedings had been begun which ended in injunctions, and finally in a receivership, inside of the succeeding two years. Not exactly phoenix-like, but more as an eagle after it has been mortally wounded struggles to reach its aery on some mountainous cliff, the colony migrated to Georgia. Here, one short year ago, one of the women told the Rev. Charles M. Skinner that it was a “heaven on earth,” and another of the members said: “What seems like a providence has stretched out a saving hand every time it seemed inevitable that we should go under.” This remark was made by one who had been with the colony from the first, and who had shared in the hopelessness as well as the hope which had marked the three principal epochs in the life of the movement.

The history of the Ruskin colony in many respects is like that of the other Utopian schemes which have been tried in this country in the past 50 or 60 years, all born of a dissatisfaction with the existing social regime, all started in the hope of making human life more easy to live and more worth the living, and all ending in failure, more or less inglorious. There was the same promise of hope at the beginning. There was the same denial of self for the common weal on the part of the members of the community. There was the same struggle for life against what seems an immutable law which predestines to certain failure these artificial and abortive attempts to hurry along the slow progress of social evolution. And, finally, there was the shattering of cherished ideals in the heart-breaking failure at the end.

In some other respects, however, the history of the Ruskin colony is unlike its predecessors in the field of applied socialism. Its tenacity of life was remarkable. Twice, under conditions which would have summarily ended ordinary efforts of this character, it survived. In the first place, an almost fatal mistake was made in the selection of the first site for the colony. A stage-road three miles inland from Tennessee City led the pioneers of Ruskin to what has been described as "the finest stretch of the hardest-looking country that lies out of doors." What was not a sunless ravine was impenetrable thicket. There was no water on the land and the soil was absolutely untillable. For over a year the Ruskinites struggled for their very lives against these prodigious natural odds; and, after a period of almost killing hardships, they decided that unless they found a more favorable site their Utopia would die even if its founders succeeded in keeping the breath of life in their own bodies. Here at the very outset was an experience

calculated to cause the scales to fall from the eyes of ordinary Utopians, but with a heroism worthy of a better cause the undaunted Ruskinites determined to start again.

Several more favorable sites were investigated, but on account of the expense of moving their printing plant (of which more later) one was selected only six miles away, at Cave Mills, Tenn., on the banks of Yellow Creek. The new property was located in a fertile valley, a veritable Eden as compared with the first site. Besides the rich soil, the pure and sparkling drinking water, the sunshine and the pure air, the place possessed two wonderful natural caves. The atmosphere in the caves was remarkably dry and pure and the temperature was even. This led to the utilization of them as a canning and vinegar factory and as a storehouse for the agricultural products of the colonists. Celery, of which they raised large crops, was kept fresh and tender for months. In addition to the food products, gladiolas, cape bulbs and other rare plants were kept in the cool and congenial atmosphere of the caves.

It was during this second epoch at Cave Mills that Ruskin appeared to be a success; and here again it was unlike the great majority of similar experiments. At the end of the first year the officials returned to the secretary of state of Tennessee a sworn statement showing resources of over \$60,000. By the time the receivership came, in about another year, the valuation of their property was placed at something like \$100,000. The association was discounting its bills and had a good rating in the commercial agencies. It was at this stage that President J. H. Dodsdon, whose signature appeared on the labor-certificates which circulated as money in the colony, just as a national bank president's signature appears on our national currency,

asked that Ruskin be judged by the same standards by which men judge any venture.

It is not the purpose of this article to detail the petty quarrels and the bickerings which existed among the Ruskinites from the beginning. They were due to the fact that a lot of small people were rattling around in a big idea. Not that the Ruskinites were illiterate, although they were not nearly of the same intellectual calibre as the Brook Farm transcendentalists. They were mediocre on the average. They had read enough to become convinced that the present social and industrial regime was not working to the point of absolute perfection, and they nurtured in their own minds the specious notion that they were possessed of a superfineness of human nature which would enable them to live with and for their fellow-colonists according to higher ideals than those which were realized in the sordid conditions of life which they desired to leave behind them forever. They were required to pass a sort of an examination before they were admitted to membership in Ruskin, an examination which might easily be passed by any one who had but a superficial acquaintance with the literature of socialism. This and the payment of \$500 were the only steps necessary to become a full-fledged Ruskinite.

It was only when these internal dissensions resulted in one of the disgruntled Utopians petitioning the courts for the appointment of a receiver that they attracted the attention of the outside world, and grew to be a serious problem for those inside the little colony. Application after application upon one pretext or another was dismissed by the courts until, finally, in 1899, on the question as to whether the Ruskin Cooperative Association had violated its charter as a mining and manufacturing company by building dwellings, running schools, a lyceum and a dining hall, judgment

was rendered against the colony and a receiver appointed. It was in the same year, by the way, that the supreme court of Illinois decided that the powerful Pullman corporation could not continue to own its workmen's dwellings, public buildings, parks, etc., at Pullman; and it is rather curious that in the same year the courts of two states rendered similar decisions, one operating against a powerful private corporation and the other against its antithesis—a socialistic community.

The receivership proceedings swept the bulk of the colonists' property from them. Here again the tenaciousness of the Ruskinites held them together. The burning of the uninsured phalanstery at Brook Farm took the heart out of the idea, and it immediately succumbed to the inevitable. In the face of an infinitely greater misfortune the Ruskinites refused to admit failure. It was a far cry in something besides mileage from the cool caves and fertile valleys of Tennessee to the hot sands of Georgia, but the determined faithful migrated again, this time to Duke, Ga., where they joined forces with another communistic settlement then on the verge of failure. Here the third start was made by the Ruskinites, the place taking the name "Ruskin," in honor of the newcomers. The soil and climate of the new Ruskin were not in the least conducive to the healthy development of the plan. For the first year it made a bit of a spurt, but desertions so weakened it in the second year that the law was again invoked by those whose sympathy and fellowship had been turned to bitterness and enmity by a brief trial of the plan. The telegraphic accounts of the end, in the northern papers, were meager, but there was enough in them to show that the Ruskinites finally had laid down their arms in the unequal contest against the

natural but unseen forces of social evolution and human progress.

Under conditions as they are to-day Ruskin probably never would have been started. It was during the first pinches of the panic of 1893 that a paper was established in Greensburg, Ind., by Mr. J. A. Wayland. The paper was called *The Coming Nation*. It was brilliantly edited, and the seed of its socialistic teachings fell on fallow ground. The circulation swelled with incredible rapidity. Its columns were closed to advertisements, to everything in fact but the doctrines of the most extreme and at the same time the most visionary socialism. Mr. Wayland, whatever his motive, electrified his subscribers one day by announcing that he would make his paper and its modern plant the nucleus of a socialistic community. It was this plant and the receipts from the publication which kept the Ruskinites going during the dark days at Tennessee City, the first site. It was this plant and the paper which they saved from the legal wreck at Cave Mills; and to get it to their last ditch in Georgia they spent their last dollar. With the changed conditions for the better in the South and West, which have come with the recovery from the panic of 1893, the paper lost its influence, and that gone it evidently no longer had the potency in keeping the colony alive which it had exerted from the first. The end of the movement indicates this. It proves, too, as does the recent failure at Zoar, that socialistic experiments do not thrive in conditions of general prosperity. The moment that that prosperity touches the edge of the colony its fate is sealed.

One of the strangest features in the history of Ruskin is the utter inability of the Ruskinites to grasp the significance of their epoch of success at Cave Mills. The Ruskin Cooperative Association in reality was

nothing but a private corporation. The stockholders—it sounds more capitalistic than socialistic, but it is the truth—at \$500 a share contributed a capital which varied from \$25,000 to \$40,000. This capital sagaciously invested in good land, including the natural monopoly of the caves, and wisely managed, began to act precisely as capital does when it is sagaciously invested and wisely managed in the individualistic industrial world. The Ruskin stockholders got their dividends in the way of more necessities and more luxuries of life, just as the stockholder in any other private corporation gets the dividends, only in the latter case they come through the medium of checks or money. Only in certain phases of the domestic life of the stockholders was Ruskin purely socialistic. There was not even a common dining table, in one sense of the word, because at one time some fifty of the families in the colony ate at their private tables. Even in their general dining-room some would bring things in their pockets which the others would not, or at least did not, have. Taken as a whole, then, Ruskin, during the only one of the three periods of its history when it could be termed successful, was considerably more capitalistic than it was socialistic.

Finally, the end came as it did to most of the American Utopias because the communal life made the people lazy. Ruskin, the last Ruskin, was simply a typical town in rural Georgia. It lacked almost every convenience of modern life. The people dressed indifferently to the point of slatternliness and the children ran almost as wild as the razor-backs. The late W. H. Channing, in carefully selected words, gave this tendency toward indolence as the reason for the failure of Brook Farm, and he was a member of the community, too. Mr. Noyes, founder of the Oneida community, after a personal investigation into the causes of failure

of these experiments; Mr. Macdonald, a Scotch Owenite, who visited most of the American communities on a tour of investigation and research, and Mr. Nordhoff, who investigated some seventy odd communities, all, according to John Rae's "Contemporary Socialism," agree in saying that laziness is the *bête noire* of applied socialism. One who has been through it sums up Ruskin and all the rest, and places the day when applied socialism will be successful only in that future time when men, manners and morals will be different from what they now are, when he said: "The industrious, the skillful, and the strong saw the products of their labor enjoyed by the indolent, and the unskilled, and the improvident, and self-love rose against benevolence."

EMPLOYERS AND LABOR UNIONS*

Trade unions are one of the features that have come with industrial progress. Progress always brings changes, but the new is not always all good; many bad things come with progress. We have many evils to deal with at the opening of the twentieth century that were unknown to primitive society. The first feature of progress is innovation: new experiences, new institutions, and the second is to eliminate the bad and keep the good, if there is any. The first question to ask regarding trade unions is: Are they essentially bad? Are they necessarily injurious to the community, or are the objectionable features only incidental to the crudeness of labor organizations?

The most characteristic feature of the last half century's industrial progress is organization, not merely labor organization, but political, religious, social and industrial. The first step toward success in all these lines has been organization. We seem to be constitutionally afraid of the new. The inventors of the early machines in the last quarter of the 17th and first quarter of the 18th century were mobbed and driven from county to county, and their machines smashed by the populace. This spirit, though wonderfully modified with the growing intelligence of the last century, has not entirely disappeared. We are nearly as much afraid of a new organization to-day as our forefathers were of a new machine.

During the last two or three years we have almost been thrown into a panic by the new organizations of capital. The large concerns, called "trusts," have so frightened us that the whole nation has been in danger

* Abstract of address delivered by Mr. Gunton before the Manufacturers' Club of Cincinnati, October 14th.

of "trust" hysterics. It was made a conspicuous issue in the presidential election, and from the speeches and literature given to the people in 1900 one might expect that unless we immediately stamped out large corporations we would fall back into industrial thralldom and political despotism; yet, time is rapidly working wonders; experience is dissipating this hobgoblin of economic superstition, and we shall very soon realize that we have not lost our industrial opportunities and political rights, but are really sharing the advantages of the new institutions of which we were so mortally afraid.

The peculiarity of this movement is that the laborers who think the benefits of their organizations are so obvious that they should be manifest to everybody are among the most unreasoning opponents to large corporations. They are among those who shout loudest for the suppression of the "trust" and the "monopoly of capital." On the other hand, capitalists seem to think that corporate organization is so natural and necessary that the reason of its coming should be clear to everybody. Hence opposition to large corporations seems to them blind fanaticism. The chief difficulty in the whole situation is that neither side understands the other. If the employers knew more of how the laborers live and what they feel and think, and the laborers knew more of how the employers plan, risk and work, there would be more reasonable and harmonious relations between them.

Are labor organizations a necessary feature of modern industry? Employers, especially if they have just emerged from a strike, are tempted promptly to answer, No. They are disposed to think that as the employer takes all the risk of his investment he has the right absolutely to control all the conditions of his business. From the point of view of the employer this seems quite natural, yet it is not strictly the case, and it really

becomes less so as civilization advances. There are three parties interested in the success and outcome of industrial enterprises: the capitalist, who invests his means, the laborers, who do the work, and the community, which represents all the ethical as well as economic interests of society. It is from the point of view of the community, because that includes all the others, that the interests and equities of both laborers and capitalists must finally be determined. The community is interested in affording capital the greatest possible opportunity for industrial success. Civilization largely depends upon profitable industrial enterprise. If all the industry of the country should be so conducted that every night the product had cost as much as it was worth, there would be no addition to the nation's wealth. Every day would practically eat up the previous day's product. That would promptly bring progress to a standstill. If there were no profits of industry, there would be no increase of wealth and no progress in civilization. So that, the public is interested in affording capital the greatest opportunity for profit-making, and it is for this reason that the institutions of society are careful to protect the interests, rights and security of property and industry.

On the other hand, the community is equally interested in the material and moral development of the laborers, because they constitute the majority of the citizens. While granting and protecting the opportunities for capital to make profit, the cream of which at first goes to the capitalist, though ultimately it is distributed among the people, the public insists that industry shall be so conducted as to enable the laborers to share in the benefits; and under democratic institutions public policy insists also that profitable business shall be so conducted as to command the respect and confidence of the public. Indeed, this is essential to the

stability and safety of the industry. Let public confidence in the methods of conducting business once be destroyed and public opinion be arrayed against the business men and methods of the country, and industrial disruption is sure to come.

The public has assumed the right to interfere to a certain extent, in the interest of labor and the community, with the methods and conditions of conducting business. It has established the principle of restricting the working day, and of insisting upon certain sanitary and protective conditions which dictate the amount of air space and the opportunities of exit in case of fire, protection against dangerous machinery, and so on. The community has done this in the interest of public welfare, because the employers failed to do it. So that, it is not true that employers have the right absolutely to determine all conditions affecting their workshops, merely because they assume the economic responsibility of the business. They are given the opportunity to develop the business and afforded the benefits of government and society in so doing, on condition that the laborers and the public participate in the benefits. The theory that unions are an unnecessary and injurious interference with business because they claim the right to have something to say about the conditions under which business shall be conducted, and the idea that employers should make individual contracts with laborers, are equally untenable.

The development of industry with steam, electricity and the factory system has destroyed the laborers' power to make individual contracts. Suppose a dozen of your laborers say they would like to work eight hours a day, and some of the others would like to work nine hours, and your machinery is running ten. What would you say? You would decline because that would defeat the economy of the machinery in your whole

factory. You would say: The engine starts at seven. I cannot have part of my machinery running eight hours, nine hours, and some more ten. In order to make the most of this machinery I must have it count from the minute it starts; all must work the same number of hours; all must start at the same time, and quit at the same time. Why? Because it is the economy of the situation. No matter how well disposed the employer was, his competitor would beat him if he tried any such scheme as that. He could not do it. It is not in the employer's power under factory conditions to do that.

The result is he treats all alike. If there are five hundred laborers, what one does all must do. If one starts at seven all must start at seven. When it comes to wages it is the same thing. If they are on piece-work, and one laborer wants to make a contract for a price different from the others, say two cents more a dozen, you say: "I cannot give you two cents more than the others; it must be so much a dozen for that kind of work. If I give it to you I must give it to all." So the laborer finds he cannot make an individual contract about his wages. He can get what the others get and cannot get any more, and is not likely to be asked to take any less. Laborers know from experience that what one gets they all get. They are hired in groups, and therefore should act in groups in making their bargains. That is so obvious a fact that it needs no argument; and organization of labor becomes a logical and necessary fact alongside of the corporation and factory methods of employment.

Whenever an institution continues regardless of opposition, and grows with the progress of society, we may not like it, but we know there is something in it. When trade unions began, it was a penal offence for three people to meet and talk over wages, and if they

did not disperse within an hour they could be shot. One would think that would suppress any organization. I think that would stop a corporation. But it did not suppress trade unions. On the contrary, in 1824 the whole conspiracy laws regarding them were repealed, and for fifty years unions have grown despite intense opposition. The blacklist and many other methods have been resorted to against them, and still they grow larger and larger. That is conclusive evidence that unions belong to the age; that organization is a part of the labor side of industrial life just as surely as it is of the capital side.

Many of you can tell stories that would almost make one's hair stand up about the absurdity, the irrational conduct, of labor unions, the dictatorial attitude and the overawing coercion. Yes; and if you would listen they can tell something about capitalists that would at least produce a sensation. The question is, are these irrational features an inherent part of labor organizations? If they are, they must disappear; but if they are not, then the question is how to remedy the evils. Are unions growing worse? Are they really more arbitrary, more despotic and violent than they used to be? I think not. It used to be the common practice to blow the shop up, or put a keg of gunpowder under the man's house who opposed the union. That was early English experience, and to some extent in this country. Those things are becoming more rare every year, as workmen become more intelligent. They are not due to unions, but to the perverted ideas of workmen regarding capital. The average laborer believes that capitalists do not come honestly by their money. They learn this, not from their unions, but from the daily press, ministers frequently, and sometimes from professors in our colleges.

The chief difficulty is that labor and capital are too

far apart. They treat each other as enemies when they ought to be close friends. The laborers think the capitalists stand ready to fleece them at every turn, hence the duty of the laborers is to injure capital whenever they can. There is a very prevalent idea abroad that an injury to capital is a gain to labor. There have been some experiences recently that have shown the bad effects of this false position of labor and the good effects of a reasonable attitude of capitalists. The steel strike was one. Mr. Shaffer could have had nearly all he asked for if he had been sensible. He was not content with having the unions recognized, but demanded that the corporations become his agent and compel all the non-union mills to be unionized. That would have been a catastrophe if the corporations had consented. It would have been an injury to the unions themselves. It would have encouraged pure despotism. Coercion cannot be tolerated in this country on either side. Laborers make no better despots than capitalists. But the wholesome fact is that the majority of the leaders of the great unions of the country, like Gompers of the federation, Sargent of the locomotive engineers, Mitchell of the miners, and White of the garment-makers, did not endorse Shaffer in this foolish and dictatorial demand. Then Shaffer went one step farther and appealed to the workmen to repudiate their contracts, because, he said, they did not make them directly with the "trust." There again the strength of the great unions was thrown instantly against him. He asked Mr. Gompers to call out the federated unions in a sympathetic strike, and Mr. Gompers refused, because it was asking the men to violate their contracts. He said: If you make a bad contract, live up to it, and make a better one next time, and Mr. Shaffer got no funds and very little sympathy.

This shows that integrity of contract is becoming

a strong moral principle with unions. Here the great national unions showed that they would rather lose an important strike than countenance a violation of agreement by the workmen.

This is the more significant because the unions were encountering the strongest corporation in the world. They had been told during an extended national campaign that the first time the labor unions encountered the steel trust the unions would be crushed and the men reduced to serfs. Not a few of them believed this, but with all this at stake the great unions preferred to lose the strike rather than sustain a policy of violating contracts. In this instance the "trust" surprised the unions and everybody else by its reasonable and almost generous attitude. When the strike was practically lost, a deputation of representatives of several of the largest unions in the country, headed by Mr. Gompers of the federation, called upon Mr. Schwab, president of the corporation, for the purpose of softening the blow. They expected to find him in a haughty, dictatorial mood. Having won the strike they expected that his policy would be to persecute the strikers and break up what was left of the union. But to their surprise they were utterly mistaken. The president of this great concern, in the hour of victory, set the extraordinary example of showing no vindictiveness whatever. He simply repeated his original proposition, that he would recognize the unions wherever they were organized, and where they were not he would deal with the men directly. His attitude toward labor unions and his treatment of the deputation, and his liberal spirit toward both the union and the strikers, was so unexpected that it converted these union leaders from antagonists to admirers.

That has done more than anything that has happened in twenty years to make the labor unions see that

large corporations are not going to be such terribly bad things after all, and that unions will have a better chance of fair treatment with big men than they have with little men. That shows what can be done by employers if they act in a spirit of fairness. From my experience and investigation of this subject, I am convinced that 90 per cent. of the strikes are really due to the injudicious attitude of those conducting the controversy. They meet in a spirit of belligerence rather than as conferees, and act as if both were looking for an opportunity to get on their dignity, and the moment this occurs reason ceases. They both become rigid and unyielding; in fact, when dignity enters reason departs. I remember a case in Fall River, Massachusetts, when dignity, coupled with a little bad manners on the part of a mill agent, threw more than forty mills into a strike for nine weeks, which resulted in the ruin of several merchants and two mill corporation treasurers going to jail for twelve years for misusing bank funds in order to carry their indebtedness; besides reducing the operatives to one meal a day for weeks. This was all because, when a deputation called upon that mill agent, he refused to talk to them because they did not work in his mill. The operatives were holding a meeting that was just ready to compromise, but when this snub was reported nothing could have prevented a strike and resulting catastrophe to the city.

The real remedy for these evils is to deal with the strike long before it occurs. I notice in to-day's paper that the Episcopal conference which is being held in San Francisco has appointed a national board of arbitration to arbitrate these difficulties. I have not much faith in arbitration after the fact. When the trouble is on and the strike is in progress the capitalist is willing to lose many times as much in a fight as it would have

cost to confer and agree before the strike began. He is up on his dignity and the laborers are half insane, the same way; so that arbitration when it comes is usually calling in a minister or a philanthropist or somebody who does not know anything about it. When the strike is once begun, only the losers are willing to arbitrate and this makes the others less willing. Hence we hear the employer say: There is nothing to arbitrate. It is a fight for the right to run my own shop, etc. Arbitration after the fact is a failure. If we are to have arbitration at all, and that is the true spirit, it must come before the strike, and the arbitrators must not be outsiders who know nothing of the business and who are governed by unpractical sentiment, but must consist of those actually interested in and familiar with the subject in controversy. And this should come before passion and feeling have displaced reason.

It is not the extermination of unions but the better organization of labor that is needed. Small local unions are usually the most unruly and unreasonable. The larger the organization the more effective and judicious, because it tends to remove the board of managers away from the heat of battle, which is necessary for cool judgment. Wise judgment can hardly be expected from those in the center of the fight. Shaffer, for instance, lost his head, but Gompers and the representatives of the other great organizations did not. I repeat, the remedy for the defects of labor organizations is more and better organization. If we should judge all organizations by their defects, we should be opposed to every form of association.

Take political organizations for instance. In New York and elsewhere, judging by some of their acts, the main purpose seems to be the corruption and debauchery of our political life; yet the hope of the republic is not in abolishing party organization, but in

purifying it. The same is true of trade unions. Whoever advocates the policy of fighting trade unions to extermination is advocating blind folly that can only end in failure.

We all know that neither nature, society nor employers give anything except in response to some demand. In order to succeed, the demand must be morally and economically strong enough to make it more difficult to refuse than to yield. The laborers can only exercise this influence through organization. We all know that with a few rare exceptions employers do not voluntarily reduce the hours of labor or increase wages or make other concessions to laborers. During the last 75 years, in England and in this country, compulsory education for working children, fire escapes, protection from exposed machinery, shortening of the hours of labor from 12 to 10 and from 10 to 9, and in some cases to 8, have all been secured. We know that they were not voluntarily offered by employers in either country. They were all secured by organized effort, some through legislation, some through union demands, but all by organized effort. Employers are not to be especially criticized for that. Their business is to make profits, and they attend to that diligently; but somebody else must attend to the other or it will be neglected.

We have an example of this now in the southern states. The cotton factories in the South are very prosperous, paying enormous dividends. They are working women and children twelve hours a day. I was down there last year and saw little tots of seven or eight years of age working twelve hours a day and in some cases all night. The employers do not volunteer to adopt the ten-hour day, nor refuse to employ children under twelve years of age, nor insist upon any educational opportunities, although in every state out-

side of the South, and in every Christian country, these things are vouchsafed to laborers. On the contrary, the corporations and the newspapers representing their interests are opposing every effort to secure these concessions which everywhere else are regarded as common decencies. The only way the operatives of the South will get what similar operatives in other states have had for decades is to demand it by some means that the corporations cannot refuse. This is by organization—through unions, through legislation—both of which require organization. To deny the right of organized action is to prevent the operatives in the South from ever securing either education for their children or a ten-hour work day. Yet these employers in the South are only doing what the employers of England did and the employers of every state in this country did,—opposing the concessions to workingmen until the laborers are able to make their demands irresistible.

The true attitude, therefore, of employers toward this subject is not to attempt the impossible and resist the inevitable, but to recognize labor unions as a necessary part of modern society. This is the first step towards friendly relations, by which the vicious elements, like the walking delegate, the arbitrary rules of unions, the dictatorial action of shop meetings, and the like, can be eliminated from the trade-union movement. You can never rationalize them by persecution. So long as you treat them like outlaws they will regard you as enemies with whom it is not necessary to keep faith. I venture to say that the large unions will in future exercise all their power to keep faith with Mr. Schwab, because he treated them in a fair and friendly manner. Of course, it is true that before unions can have the full confidence of employers they must live up to their agreements; but they should not be expected to be better than employers in this respect.

Manufacturers and railroad corporations do not always keep their agreements, as we all know.

The next permanent step of progress in this direction should be a mutual union of organized employers and organized laborers. This is entirely consistent with the principle of association already developed. National organization of manufacturers, national organization of carpenters, and machinists, and blacksmiths, all are illustrations of this principle. It could be accomplished by mutual agreement of employers and organized laborers to form a union in which each should be equally represented; not on any proportion of numbers but on actual equality, and the basis of organization should be that the unions on the one hand and corporations on the other agree that no question in dispute should lead to a stoppage of work until after it had been passed upon by this mutual organization. In other words, this should be the court of final appeal for both sides, and the decision should be accepted.

This would prevent rash strikes and do much to rationalize the conduct of unions. Labor unions would be compelled to send their best men—the most respectable and intelligent men—to meet in this body. That would have an educational effect and promote friendly relations. Under such a relation the foolish dictation of the walking delegate would not be tolerated. The union representatives would not support it. The same would be true in the case of unreasonable employers, and there are some. The other concerns would have no interest in sustaining an employer in acting foolishly. There you would have the machinery for arbitrating strikes before they occur; and not by sentimental outsiders but by people whose interests are at stake. That would be a real step towards getting harmonious relations between labor unions and employers. There is no hope of lessening the everlasting fermenta-

tion of the animosity towards capital, which is the most dangerous thing that is going on in this country to-day, except by the employers taking a frank, friendly attitude towards organized labor. Trade unionists are not socialists, they are not anarchists, they are the real conservative element among the working people. It is those who are not in the trade unions that are socialist- and anarchists.

If the employers of Cincinnati should take a step towards such a new organization, they would become famous as the leaders of industrial harmony. It would not take many years of this experience to educate the best people in the labor ranks up to an altogether different appreciation of capital and its relation to public welfare. By this relation employers would come better to understand the life, the methods and ideas of the laborers. They would have a better understanding of their viewpoint, and also the laborers would come to see employers in a new light. They would learn more of their actual difficulties and struggles and methods and better understand their actions. Each would act as an educational force upon the other. In this way, through the integration of organization, the most intelligent laborers would help to broaden the view of employers, and the business sense of the more rational employers would exercise a moral and guiding influence over the deliberations and conduct of organized labor.

EDITORIAL CRUCIBLE

MAYOR-ELECT LOW has begun the work of official appointment on the high plane on which his campaign was conducted. His only selection thus far is the appointment of Mr. George L. Rives as corporation counsel. It is conceded that in accepting this appointment Mr. Rives will sacrifice much more than the salary of the office. This shows what the moral influence of a clean, dignified municipal administration can accomplish. Such a man could not have been induced to accept the position under a hackneyed spoils administration. The best people in the community will be found willing to serve a high-class municipal administration even at a financial loss. They willingly make that contribution to clean, efficient, patriotic public service.

THE APPOINTMENTS of President Roosevelt are commanding universal approval. Even the southern press is compelled to forget its troubles about Booker Washington breaking bread in the white house, and praise Mr. Roosevelt for going right on appointing able democrats to federal offices in the South when there is a dearth of equally able republicans. His appointment of William Dudley Foulke of Indiana as member of the civil service commission, his action on the Kentucky and Texas cases, and his decision in the Bidwell case are eliciting general approval, with the exception, of course, of the bosses, who have had to sit down and acquiesce. This shows that, after all, the American people do really like their representatives to show integrity and courage in their official duties.

WHEN MR. CLEVELAND was president there were some wicked enough to suggest that he did not always

write his own messages. To any who should venture such a suggestion regarding his recent Founders' Day address at Pittsburg, the following sentence from that speech would furnish a crushing reply:

"The mention of the obligations which are suggested by these surroundings as growing out of the possession of wealth and the reference which has been made to the relationship between a discharge of these obligations and good citizenship should not for a moment obscure the consciousness that if the American people are to preserve in their greatest usefulness the advantages of their free institutions every individual, whatever may be his station or situation, owes some sort of duty and obligation in support of good citizenship—the faithful and honest discharge of which constitutes in its best sense American cooperation."

Referring to Mr. Cleveland's modest reluctance to speak "on occasions like this," the *Commercial Advertiser* (N. Y.), sympathetically observes: "He hates this kind of thing and shows he hates it by the way he does it, and there are many readers up and down the land who have humanity enough to hate to see him do it."

A CERTAIN CLASS of journals are assuming to know just what the president is going to say in his message on reciprocity. Some go so far as to quote from it, and they are quite sure that he is going to plead for more reciprocity treaties. It is quite evident they are guessing, and that the wish is the father of the guess. Without assuming the role of prophet, it is safe to say the president will favor no reciprocity treaties at the expense of American industries. He believes in the extension of international commerce, he believes in American products having a foreign market, but he will not be found to favor any policy which will sacrifice one American industry to furnish a foreign market for another. President Roosevelt believes in the development of domestic industries, and he believes in protecting American industry at least up to the competitive level of maintaining American wages. With him the

promotion of foreign trade by reciprocity treaty comes second to promoting domestic industry by wage protection.

A NEW METHOD of dealing with trusts appears to have been invented by a judge in Cleveland, Ohio. According to the *New York Sun* (November 21st), a man was taken to court charged with stealing a dollar's worth of brass from a workshop belonging to the Standard Oil Company. The company failed to prosecute, but the man pleaded guilty to the charge, whereupon the judge discharged him, saying that "the trust was stealing right along from the laborers, and it was only retributive justice for the laborers to steal from the trust."

We are not informed whether this judge is one of Tom L. Johnson's creations. If so, it might be well as an experiment to try the new doctrine upon the Hon. Tom before applying it to the whole community.

If the courts of this country would only follow this policy and authorize everybody to steal from corporations, we should soon have a levelling that might satisfy the most ardent socialist. The theory that stealing is the ethical way of distributing economic justice is an entirely new doctrine in the United States.

THE RECIPROCITY CONVENTION just held at Washington has greatly disappointed its real promoters. This movement was started as a new scheme to make inroads on protection. Ex-President McKinley's last speech at Buffalo was expected to be the "word to conjure with," to surreptitiously enlist the support of manufacturers for a declaration in favor of a "liberal" reciprocity policy, which means abolishing the tariff by treaty, because it cannot be abolished by legislation. But the project appears to have miscarried. The manu-

facturers' reciprocity convention refused to countenance any scheme of reciprocity not consistent with the protection of domestic industries. This was made clear and emphatic in the resolutions which were overwhelmingly adopted. Perhaps the highest compliment that can be paid to this convention is to say that it earned the ridicule of the *New York Times*, which had hoped and predicted so much from it in aid of the free trade cause. In its disgust, the *Times* complains that "no one in the convention had the hardihood to interrupt Mr. Clark" and explain that the industrial depression of 1893-4-5 was "brought on by the republican silver legislation of 1890." As if anybody were dunce enough at this late day to take that seriously.

THE REPRESENTATIVES of Cuban industries are making an urgent plea for special tariff consideration. It must be admitted that Cuba occupies a different relation to the United States from European countries in many respects. The success of free institutions in Cuba, as everywhere else for that matter, will depend upon the success of her industries. If we acted in good faith in giving Cuba political freedom from Spanish rule, it is our obvious duty to aid the promotion of Cuba's industrial prosperity whenever that can be done without injuring American industries. Of course, free sugar cannot be seriously considered. Yet Cuba may very properly be treated with special consideration. The political and economic condition of Cuba, as well as the ethical considerations, justify giving Cuba the benefit of any tariff adjustment which will not militate against American producers of the same commodities.

We publish in this number an article by Mr. L. V. de Abad, commissioner to the United States, representing the economic associations of Cuba. Mr. Abad discusses the Cuban situation with ability and moderation

from the Cuban point of view. His representation of the case is entitled to careful consideration by all who would treat Cuba with economic fairness and neighborly interest.

THE REMOVAL of Mr. Bidwell from the collectorship of the port of New York indicates several hopeful tendencies. It proves that the authority over federal office-holders in New York has been removed from 49 Broadway to the white house, Washington, D. C. It proves that the sensational threats such as prevented the appointment of Whitelaw Reid as minister to England will not work with President Roosevelt. It shows that instead of dictating to the president, as heretofore, Senator Platt must "acquiesce," and when he sends his little Quigg along to be impudent, he hastens instead of preventing the calamity. All this shows a wholesome condition of our public affairs, and will greatly strengthen the confidence of the whole nation in President Roosevelt.

The position of the *Evening Post* in this Bidwell affair is just a little perplexing. Of course, the *Post* is in favor of clean politics. It does not believe in federal office-holders manipulating, and much less corrupting, party primaries. Yet, for reasons best known to the *Post*, it has been Bidwell's steadfast backer, notwithstanding the conclusive proofs of his pernicious and corrupt political activity. Of course the *Post* is always in favor of an "easy" collector, but it was hardly expected to defend a politically corrupt one. But now that Bidwell is gone, and Quigg is shown the back door, and Platt ordered to "sit down," the case may be regarded as closed, and dismissed from further notice.

THE OPEN FORUM

This department belongs to our readers, and offers them full opportunity to "talk back" to the editor, give information, discuss topics or ask questions on subjects within the field covered by GUNTON'S MAGAZINE. All communications, whether letters for publication or inquiries for the "Question Box," must be accompanied by the full name and address of the writer. This is not required for publication, if the writer objects, but as evidence of good faith. Anonymous correspondents are ignored.

LETTERS FROM CORRESPONDENTS

Cheap Labor Not a Necessity

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I read this morning Professor Gunton's lecture on restricting immigration. It has seemed to me that our advance in prosperity and wealth has arisen from the development of the great natural wealth of the country in mining and soil. Labor, for which is needed only bodily strength with the minimum of intellect, is best performed, not by American citizens who are fitted for something more interesting and more profitable, but by Polanders, Hungarians, Italians and the like. The very performance of their part increases the demand for skilled labor. The acreage of strawberries in southern New Jersey would be cut down to probably one-third its present amount if the farmers could not have Italian berry-pickers. American wage earners are more profitably employed and are not available. I am fairly familiar with stone quarries, iron mills, textile manufacturing, etc., and I do not know of a single position which an American man or woman is suited to and desires that is held by a low-grade foreigner. It seems to me that these people are performing a useful part to the common advantage by doing the hard work they do, and for pay commensurate with the intelligence

demand. Please explain. Many of the principles advanced in the lecture are most true.

(REV.) J. F. SHEPPARD, Conshohocken, Pa.

[It is anything but a cheerful view of social progress which permanently assigns a great mass of human beings to mere physical-force toil, of a degrading and brutalizing nature. The reason why so many industries are still so largely of a hand-labor character is the very fact that cheap, ignorant labor could be had to perform it. Let it once become necessary, by excluding cheap immigration, for employers to bid for a higher grade of labor, and invention will set to work to devise machine methods to economize mere physical force and so raise the standard of work in these occupations. Many employments, like berry-picking, would not necessarily repel a higher grade of working people but for the low wages established by cheap labor from abroad. Better that the public pay a little more in money for the berries than the far dearer price of permanent social degradation for a whole group of workers in American communities. We cannot, of course, dispense with the necessity of rough labor in any one day or generation, but the process should be to level these industries up to the standard of decent and humane employment rather than keep them forever on the verge of cheap-labor barbarism.]

Anarchy and Evasion of Law

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I received your October *Bulletin* and *MAGAZINE*, and have read them with considerable interest. I heartily endorse much that you say, but you leave untouched one of the most important factors of anarchism; you seem to be looking on one side of the question.

Anarchy is a disregard of law. Contempt for the law is no less anarchy because it is found in high places; we find all over our land the burden of taxation is borne by the citizen of moderate means, while the millionaires, the trusts and industrial combinations are not paying a tithe of their proportion. Our courts are being prostituted and the violations of law are winked at, and our schools suffering for want of revenue, when we know there is property sufficient if the tax-dodger should be compelled to bear his share of the burden. The miserable creature who would conceal his revolver while taking the hand of our president while he fired the fatal shot deserves the punishment meted out to him, but shall we be silent while the anarchist in high places falsifies his word to evade the just burden of taxation? He conceals the dagger while he strikes at the heart of institutions and laws made for his protection.

B. F. WORKMAN, Auburn, Ill.

[Disregard of law tends to the undermining of government, whether the disregard is in high places or low, but in citing tax-dodging and the evasive devices sometimes practiced by corporations, it should not be overlooked that the original responsibility is frequently with the laws themselves. Unwise and inquisitorial tax systems and fanatical, oppressive legislation, inspired by mere political antagonism to corporations or the blackmailing schemes of political bosses, put a premium on dodging and evasion and are the real underlying causes of these admitted evils.]

For Clean Politics, Not Partisanship

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I am in receipt of your *Lecture Bulletin* on "Municipal Emancipation," and have gone through the same very carefully. I am more opposed to trusts

than the lecturer is; furthermore, I cannot understand how municipal corruption can be any worse under one party name than another, and I very much doubt whether Tammany ever got down to the concrete corruption equal to the Philadelphia ring.

D. A. A., Hutchinson, Minn.

[Our correspondent evidently misunderstands the position of the Institute of Social Economics. Neither the Institute nor its publications have any connection whatever with partisan politics. The corrupt Quay ring in Pennsylvania comes in for its share of compliments no less definitely than Tammany. We stand simply and solely for good government, clean politics and rational policies of statesmanship, regardless of party or partisan influences. For an even more recent example of this, see the lecture of November 15th on "New Era in Municipal Government," in which the recent victory in New York is shown to be a triumph over both the republican and Tammany machines.]

Immigration Restriction

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—I congratulate you New Yorkers on the good work you have done in crushing Crokerism and Tammany and in supporting Roosevelt.

The last *Bulletin* put immigration in the right light. Unless something is done to restrict it civilization must decline in this country, and, if here, throughout the world. It is no charity to bring these miserable people here; they are better off in their native lands. If immigration is now restricted as suggested, we may expect within a year or two some improvement, and may eventually hope to assimilate the alien elements the country has to contend with. If it is not restricted, we must continue to suffer, more and more, on the lines we have suffered for the last twenty or thirty years.

D. L. W., Boston, Mass.

QUESTION BOX

Let the Public Support the President

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—Do you not consider it the duty of the decent press and of public sentiment generally to rally in enthusiastic support of President Roosevelt in the independent course he is pursuing? Incidents like the Booker Washington dinner, and his ejection of the contemptible Quigg from the white house, when the latter tried to threaten him into reappointing Bidwell, are rare in high executive office in this country. A man who exhibits the kind of spirit President Roosevelt is doing ought to be sustained so heartily that the bosses and rings will simply be forced to get out of the road, and let the people rule. The president probably knows that this course will in time earn him the hatred of all the bosses and rings, and he is relying on the people to sustain him. Ought we not to do our part in most unmistakable fashion, to help him establish a new era of honest independence in high executive office?

W. M. T.

There probably has not been a case since Lincoln when a president was so completely entitled to the prompt and enthusiastic support of the whole nation. President Roosevelt has already sent an invigorating breeze through the office-holding fraternity, that honesty will be at a premium and jobbery at a discount under his administration. Nothing has occurred for a long time that is so wholesome for the public service as the removal of Mr. Bidwell from the office of collector of the port of New York. As the protege and political ward of Mr. Quigg, Bidwell has made the collector's office a scandal to the nation. It has been a distributing point of political corruption as well as numerous other vices, and as such it has had the endorsement of Mr. Platt. When the case was brought before President

McKinley, and he resolved to remove Bidwell, Mr. Platt said, "Not while I live," and used all his coercive power over the president, and at least one New York daily paper, to have Bidwell endorsed and retained, and Bidwell received a temporary appointment. This, instead of admonishing Bidwell, served as a stimulant to his depraved impulses, and he repeated his tactics of political coercion and tampering with the rights of citizens in the primaries. When the attention of President Roosevelt was called to the subject, and upon investigation he saw the facts, Platt's pleadings and Quigg's threats were of no avail. Bidwell's career was promptly cut short and Mr. Platt, instead of saying, "Not while I live," meekly acquiesced, as cowards always do. Yes, it is the duty of every patriotic citizen regardless of party affiliations to hold up the hands of our new president. Two terms of such a president will establish a new era in the methods of American politics.

Northern Capital in Southern Mills

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir:—You have said so much about the long hours and low wages in the South that one might imagine the southern people to be a mediæval community of mercenary task-masters, opposed to all progress. Is it not a fact, however, that some of the worst abuses of the sort you mention are in mills owned and managed entirely by northern capital? Indeed, is it not a fact that most of the mills in the South are under the control of northern capitalists, and the policy dictated from the North?

E. G. P.

Yes, we have criticized the South for its long hour and low wage conditions, but there was no implication in our criticism that this was peculiar to southern employers. On the contrary, we have frequently

pointed out that the English employers during the first half of the century did exactly what the southern corporations are doing, and that the New England employers did the same thing. In short, there is nothing peculiar to the South in this. It is simply the policy of short-sighted capital. The English public opinion and English parliament were necessary to force the factory acts upon the English mill owners. Public opinion and state legislatures have been necessary to force factory legislation upon New England manufacturers, and it looks as if public opinion and state legislatures would be necessary to force similar legislation upon southern employers. Whether the abuses of child labor are greater in southern mills owned by northern capital than in the mills owned by southern capital we have no means of knowing, but that is a matter of no great importance. Of course, if all the mills in the South were owned by northern capital, there is not the least doubt that they would act exactly as the corporations in the South are doing: namely, resist the short hour movement just as long as they could. There is not a ten-hour law in any state in the union, nor a law limiting the working age of the children or furnishing protection to operatives against dangerous machinery, or fire escapes in case of fire, nor any beneficent feature of factory legislation, that has not been opposed by the corporations. The northern capitalists and English capital never acted one whit better on this matter than the southern capitalists are doing. If the manufacturers in the South will voluntarily adopt a ten-hour system and an age limit for children, they will simply be that much more humane toward the operatives' welfare than were the manufacturers of either New England or old England. Since they do not volunteer to do this, there is but one policy for the laborers and the public to adopt, and

that is, compel them to do it by legislation, as they had to compel their predecessors in Lancashire and New England.

Two Socialist Fallacies

Editor GUNTON'S MAGAZINE,

Dear Sir,—Why do socialists contend that the “worker” gets less of what is produced by industry to-day than ever before in industrial history? What reply can be made to the statement that 93 per cent. of business men fail and the “worker” pays by his toil for this loss? These are questions I cannot answer fully in my own mind. If you will help me by suggestions you will do me a great favor.

E. H. K., Whitman, Mass.

It is not a fact that the working and middle classes are getting a diminishing proportion of the total wealth produced, but even if this were true it would not necessarily indicate that the poor were growing poorer. Their condition might be improving very rapidly, and yet at a less proportionate rate than that of other classes. Under savage life, where there are no capitalists, the workers get all that is produced, and it is next to nothing. In all modern countries the facts prove that wages have wonderfully advanced throughout the nineteenth century, and were never at so high a point as to-day. The aggregate tendency of prices, averaged according to the importance of commodities in consumption, has been slightly downward, showing a net gain to the wage-earning classes both in income and the purchasing power of that income. The investigations conducted either by our census officials or the special department of labor at Washington unite in the conclusion that, through the advance of wages and decline of prices, the aggregate welfare of the working classes in this country between 1860 and 1890 increased by fully 75 per cent.

Statistics showing the proportion of wealth going to different classes are for the most part uncertain and incomplete, but one definite indication may be found in the census statistics of manufactures. In 1880 the total value of manufactured products in this country was \$5,-349,191,458. The two great items in this were: raw materials, \$3,395,925,123, and wages of labor, \$939,462,252; leaving \$1,013,804,083, which was absorbed in taxes, insurance, maintenance, etc., and in rent, interest and profits. In 1890 the total value of products was \$9,056,764,996, of which raw materials absorbed \$5,021,453,326 and wages of labor \$2,171,750,183, leaving \$1,863,561,487 for taxes, insurance, maintenance, etc., and for rent, interest and profits. The total value of the products increased 69.31 per cent.; the portion which includes the capitalist's share, in the shape of rents, interest and profits, increased 83.3 per cent., while the amount going to wages of labor increased 131.17 per cent., which is 89 per cent. faster than the increase in the total value of the products from which the wages came, and 57 per cent. faster than the increase in capital's share as included in the general remainder.

Stated in another way, wages of labor absorbed 18 per cent. of the total product in 1880, and 24 per cent. in 1890. Deducting the value of the raw materials used, wages of labor absorbed 48 per cent. of the net value added by the manufacturing processes in 1880, and 54 per cent. in 1890. The remainder, including taxes, insurance, maintenance, rent, interest, profits, etc., amounted to 52 per cent. of the net product in 1880, and 46 per cent. in 1890.

During the same period the amount of capital invested increased from \$2,780,766,895 to \$6,139,397,785, or 120.78 per cent., which is 45 per cent. more than the increase in profits derived from it. In other words, the

owners of capital in 1890 found it necessary to invest about 121 per cent. more wealth in order to secure 83 per cent. more income. The census of 1900 on this subject will probably show an equally significant development in the last decade.

It is well known that interest rates are steadily declining, while wages are advancing. Rents are advancing in some sections and decreasing in others, but the increase is almost invariably found to correspond with an increase in the social or economic utility of the real estate rented. In the one case the rent is more than offset by the increased incomes of the rent-paying classes; in the other, by the increased profitableness of business conducted upon the land. Profits in many lines are larger than before, but they do not represent wealth taken out of labor, since wages are steadily increasing. They represent additional wealth drawn from nature by the immensely increased effectiveness of modern productive methods. The true statement, therefore, is as Carroll D. Wright puts it: "The rich are growing richer; many more people than formerly are growing rich; and the poor are growing better off."

As to the statement that 93 per cent. of business men fail, it is merely wild talk, and cannot be supported by any reliable statistics whatever. The records of business failures, from year to year, as given in the "Statistical Abstract," published by the national government, averaged, per annum, in the last 20 years almost exactly 1 per cent. of the total number of concerns in the country. The only way of estimating what proportion of individual business men go through life without failing is to "guess" at the normal average length of time that the so-called "business man" is engaged in the ownership and management of a business enterprise. After we have done this, it will still be the least important phase, because the actual loss to the community

is in the proportion of failures to the total business conducted each year, and this, as we have said, is only 1 per cent. of the whole. The loss from this source, therefore, is hardly overwhelming, nor is it necessarily "made up" for by the increased toil of workingmen. The only loss to the workingman as a rule is in temporary idleness, until he can get another job. If the workingmen are able to obtain new employment promptly, they do not necessarily suffer any loss at all; the only exception being in panic times, when the whole community suffers through some exceptional circumstances. So far as "making up" for this loss is concerned, it is frequently not made up for at all to the man who fails, but in the total wealth of the community it is restored by new production, in the course of which labor receives its wages and capital its profits; the increase of wealth through both channels coming out of nature.

The term "business man" is very uncertain. Only a small proportion of business men are all of their working lives in charge of a business concern. A great many are first employees, then managers, then owners, and only a portion of such a man's active life is spent as the owner and operator of a business. Probably it would be a very liberal estimate to say that the average length of an individual's business career in entire charge of an enterprise would be 20 years. Very possibly it is not more than 15 or even 10, averaging all together. The average length of human life itself is only 33 years, and even if we should estimate the average life of "business men" at 55 years, it should be remembered that few become actual owners before 35 or 40.

Now, if 1 per cent. of all the business concerns fail each year, and we should assume that each year's failures are of an entirely new and different set of establishments, in the course of 20 years only 20 per cent. of

all the establishments in the country would fail. However, it is well known that a considerable number of the failures each year are of concerns or men who have failed before, so that it would be more correct to say that about nine-tenths of 1 per cent. of separate and distinct concerns or men fail each year. In the course of 20 years this would only be about 18 per cent. of all the establishments. Therefore, in the course of an average normal business career, liberally estimated, the chances of failure are not more than 18 per cent. instead of 93 per cent. If we should estimate the average normal "business career" of responsible owners and managers as 15 years, the proportion of failures would be $13\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; if ten years, it would be only 9 per cent. It is utterly impossible to estimate accurately the normal length of an independent business career, but granting the maximum of 20 years the failures would be only 18 per cent. This means that about that proportion of business men are not sufficiently efficient as economic managers to keep up with the march of economic improvement, a fact which will be greatly modified by the concentration of industry into more and more efficient hands through capitalistic organization. It should not be forgotten, however, that this represents the loss even under competitive conditions, which tend to bring out the very best business ability. What the loss in waste and inefficiency would be if we were to put all our industry into the hands of committees elected by popular vote, instead of men brought out by natural selection, may well be imagined. Under such a condition, the whole community, as joint owners of the industries, would have a loss to "make up" for that would really be worth talking about.

BOOK REVIEWS

SOCIAL JUSTICE. By W. W. Willoughby, Ph. D. Cloth, gilt top, 385 pages, \$3.00. The Macmillan Company, New York.

This volume, like so many now coming from the press, is composed of a series of lectures. In this instance they were delivered at Johns Hopkins University. As the author admits in the preface, it is almost impossible, under such circumstances, to have anything like a consecutive treatise of any subject, and there are sure to be numerous repetitions. The present volume, however, is as free from such defects as any volume of the kind is likely to be. It is a serious discussion of the abstract theory of justice in society. The author indulges in many definitions and passes in review nearly all the schools of thought from Plato to Spencer, not omitting the various representatives of socialism.

Under the head "Canons of Distributive Justice" he discusses the socialistic ideas of Rodbertus and Marx, and also Proudhon. He dwells at great length upon what he calls the "labor theory" of Henry George and Herbert Spencer regarding the ownership of land. He reasons well, makes excellent criticisms, but they are all negative. He reasons almost everybody out of existence. He finds them all in error and closes the book without introducing any one who is right, or even approximately so. The whole book is extremely analytical and shows a much greater familiarity with the abstract philosophers than with scientific economists. Indeed, he is so analytical and negative, so entirely free from constructive philosophy, that there is an almost absence of real live or human interest in the discussion. The whole reasoning seems

to lack flesh and blood. It reduces everything to zero, which, however cleverly done, is always disappointing.

He seems to lean quite strongly towards the ultimate conclusion that, with all the progress that has been made, crime has not been diminished; if, indeed, it has not increased, which leaves the impression on the reader's mind that there has been no moral progress. Here, and it is the concluding chapter of his book, he rests his case on the comparative number of criminals to population, and thinks that the criminals keep pace with the increasing numbers in society. Granting this to be true, it is not evidence that crime has increased as fast as population. It is a most unphilosophic way of reaching a conclusion on the subject. As a matter of fact, civilization is constantly making new crimes of old misdeeds, not making more vicious acts. By the very refinement of the ethical standards, we add to the criminal calendar. We call things crimes that once were not regarded as crimes at all. That is simply because the higher moral standard is more exacting on the conduct. It will not overlook the same kind of violation of rights that was not only tolerated but regarded as normal in earlier periods; and the law takes cognizance of more of these crimes—that is to say, of acts which are violations of the rules of society. This is not because people are growing worse or that there are more bad people, but, on the contrary, because people are growing very much better and require a constantly higher standard of conduct, and hence the list of social sins is very much increased.

Again, this higher ethical standard and more altruistic spirit of modern society takes more minute cognizance of the disorderly elements of society. It looks after the criminal classes more closely. More arrests are made for lesser offences. Hence, by the very strictness of society and minuteness of criminal institu-

tions we find more criminal cases out of the same number of offences that existed than previously. In other words, society counts the criminals, whereas before it ignored them. It is very much like the case of the man who said there were more paupers in Massachusetts than in South Carolina. Statistically that was true, because Massachusetts looked after its paupers, both counted them and cared for them. South Carolina did neither, and therefore the record showed few paupers. That did not mean that Massachusetts had more neglected poor, but, on the contrary, very many less. This counting of criminals through the statistics of arrests and sentences for crime, as a guide to the ethical and social progress of society, is entirely unphilosophical and misleading. It is no gauge of ethical progress whatever. Indeed, the increase of criminals thus enumerated often indicates moral improvement in the community.

THE NEW BASIS OF GEOGRAPHY. By Jacques W. Redway. 225 pages. The Macmillan Company, New York.

The old-fashioned teacher of geography, who was a stickler for memorizing all the capes on the coast of Africa and all the bays and sounds from Labrador to Alaska, will find cold comfort in this book. Mr. Redway has given us what may be called a philosophy of geography, and has filled a subject ordinarily dry with a lively interest. Under his treatment rivers and mountains and capes have a new meaning in connection with the development of society, the course of commerce and the dispersion of peoples. We are taught that mountains and watersheds have played their part in determining immigration, from that exodus which took place following the siege of Troy on down to date.

The book seems to have in it the least bit of the extreme specialist tinge, and one gets the impression that the author thinks that climate and topography have been the twin fates which alone have exercised the controlling influence over the development of the race. But there is much food for thought in its pages, and much that appeals to reason and judgment.

Under the new basis geography applies "to earth-changes reviewed in the light of systematic processes." A river is more than a stream of water flowing through the land. It becomes a means of transformation, carrying away "its basin and building fertile, food-producing plains of the material transported." The water course and the valley bordering it determine direction of transportation, lines of commerce and centers of trade and traffic. The mountain is still a high elevation of land, but the new geography teaches that it is a barrier dividing peoples, and determining diversity of race and language.

The latter part of the book is devoted to hints to teachers, shows the value of maps and globes and pictures in the class room, and pleads earnestly for more originality as the qualification of the successful teacher.

One is not obliged to accept all of the theories advanced by Mr. Redway to appreciate the value of his book as an agency for broadening the view and equipping instructors more wisely to impart knowledge regarding geography.

Some of the author's theories seem to require qualification. He justly refers to the complicated machinery by which the necessities of life are distributed, as commerce, and holds that the protection of persons, property and commerce is government, and then he adds: "The two poles of energy, however, are the man and the earth, and here is the first fundamental princi-

ple of political economy: the man is the consumer, the earth the producer."

Technically, this classification is too arbitrary. There is no such a Chinese wall of division between the earth and the man. Men, as they exist in civilized society, are a good deal more than consumers. In fact, the earth would very indifferently and inadequately bring forth her increase, and her production would scarcely be worth the having, did not ^{the} men add their productive ability to the dumb forces of nature. That is an inadequate political economy which fails to emphasize the fact that material and social progress has been, is now and always will be, one constant round of taking nature in the rough and transforming her from an unproductive wilderness to the abode of diversified civilization. It may not have been the author's intention to give so arbitrary a meaning to his classification, but in economics accurate terminology and definition are all-important to clearness of thought. No statement of principles on this fundamental point can be adequate or satisfactory which does not recognize man as both producer and consumer, and the factors in production as three-fold — labor (man), capital (utilizing natural forces), and land (natural resources); the latter being the passive material to which, in the productive process, the two former are actively applied.

THE PROBLEM OF ASIA AND ITS EFFECT UPON INTERNATIONAL POLITICS. By A. T. Mahan, D.C.L., LL.D., Captain, United States Navy. Cloth, 223 pages, \$2.00. Little, Brown & Co., Boston.

This book is simply a collection between two covers of Captain Mahan's review and magazine articles published since the Spanish war. The captain deals in a kind of literary artillery more ponderous than interesting or effective. As an expounder of the doctrine of

manifest destiny, which demands that this country take a hand in oriental politics in the interest of an expanding commerce, Captain Mahan does not stand alone. We have lots of theorizers who shut their eyes to almost limitless trade possibilities at home, in order to exploit a problematical foreign market, and the author before us evidently belongs to this school.

Those who care for Captain Mahan's articles in permanent form will buy this book, but the rest of the world will let it become a dust collector on the shelves of the booksellers.

NEW BOOKS OF INTEREST

Handbook on Sanitation. A Manual of Theoretical and Practical Sanitation. By George M. Price, M. D., medical sanitary inspector, department of health, New York city. Cloth, 12mo, 317 pp., \$1.50. John Wiley & Sons, London.

The Affirmative Intellect. By Charles Ferguson, Cloth, 12mo, 404 pp., 90 cents. Funk & Wagnalls Co., New York.

Civics for New York State. By Charles DeForest Hoxie, member of the New York bar. Cloth, 368 pp., \$1. American Book Co., New York.

History of Intellectual Development, on the Lines of Modern Evolution. By John Beattie Crozier, LL. D., author of "Civilization and Progress," etc. Vol. III. Cloth, 8vo, 355 pp., \$3.50. Longmans, Green & Co., New York.

Lessons in Physical Geography. By Charles R. Dryer, M. A., F. G. S. A. Half-leather, 12mo, 430 pp., \$1.20. American Book Company, New York. Illustrated.

The Control of Trusts. An Argument in favor of Curbing the Power of Monopoly by a Natural Method. By John Bates Clark, author of "The Philosophy of Wealth." Cloth, 88 pp., 60 cents. The Macmillan Co., New York.

FROM NOVEMBER MAGAZINES

There is no reason why England should not be as scientific as Germany, why she should not make a superb fight for the second place. She has allowed herself to be hampered by sheer negligence in the use of her opportunities. . . . Fundamentally it is in the character and mental attitude of the average Englishman that the causes of inferiority must be sought—in his intense conservatism and easy-going view of business. What the Englishman is to the Italian in energy and speculative pluck, that the American is to the Englishman. The American will adopt a thing just because it is new; the Englishman will cling to one just because it is old.”—SYDNEY BROOKS, in *The World's Work*.

“It is proposed to call the Philippine archipelago by the name of ‘The McKinley Islands.’ In behalf of this proposition it is urged that the old name perpetuates the memory of a foreign despot, who never did anything for the islands but oppress them, and that it is an unpleasant reminder of the centuries of Spanish misrule which were terminated by Admiral Dewey’s victory. The new name, it is argued, will appropriately mark the era of liberty and progress which President McKinley’s policy is opening for the islands. Striking as the suggestion is, and attractive as it may perhaps seem at first thought, the reasons against the change are too weighty to be overruled. It would be little short of barbarity for us to do away with a name which has the prescriptive right of four hundred years’ possession of the field. The Filipino is as patriotically proud of his name as the American is of his own national cognomen. . . . Surely McKinley himself would have been the first to raise his hand against a

proffered honor which would change the map of the world and outrage the sensibilities of a long-suffering people. Veto of the suggestion is prompted by good taste and common sense."—*The Chautauquan*.

"As to our president, there can be no fear that the higher interests of the nation will suffer in his hands. This is true not only because the manner of his accession is so harrowing and sobering; not only because the tremendous power and dignity of the office must ever impose a solemn mood upon its occupant; not only because, as Napoleon said to himself in a great crisis of his career, he is no longer young; not only because of his extraordinary training and special knowledge derived from experience in legislation, in the national civil service commission, in municipal administration (both as the chairman of the Roosevelt commission of inquiry and in the police commission of New York), derived too from his experience in state administration, in navy administration, and in the exigencies of an army in the field; not only because of his wide range of acquaintance with affairs of the East and of the West, but because Theodore Roosevelt, from the beginning of his career to this present hour, through whatever mistakes of temperament and of judgment, has ever had as his ideal all that is noblest in American citizenship. From the time when, an enthusiastic youth fresh from the Harvard of Emerson and Lowell, he rushed into the fierce battle of New York politics, to the moment when, with a great pang at his heart, but with unflinching courage and determination, he took the oath of office as chief magistrate of the United States, he has striven to do his whole duty as a servant and, at the same time, a leader of the people. Honesty and courage, fraternity and justice, have been his sincere watchwords."—*The Century*.



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Gunton's magazine

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